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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 21, 1 November 1982

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15 December 1982

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 21, 1 November 1982

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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UPHOLD THE CONCEPT OF ONE DIVIDING INTO TWO; ATTAIN A STILL HIGHER GOAL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 2-6

[Speech by Comrade Hu Yaobang on 27 December 1981 while meeting with representatives attending a national conference on the creation of films]

[Text] I am a rooter for ball games, a rooter for radio and television broadcasts, a rooter for the movie industry. In short, I am your avid supporter. Our comrades of all party committees and propaganda departments must assign such a task for themselves: to be rooters, to cheer everybody up.

Literature and art, like sports, have a broad mass character. We must organize and lead the people to use all means possible to boost anything which has a broad mass character, which is beneficial to the people, which can inspire and educate people to aim high and which is popular among the people. Because only by doing this can we prove ourselves to have what our party constantly claims as a mass viewpoint.

The year 1981 will pass and a new year will come in only 4 more days. How should we view our work this year and greet the new year? Let me present these remarks to you comrades: Uphold the concept of one divides into two; attain a still higher goal. If there should be a "dui lian" [a Chinese couplet often written and mounted on scrolls to be hung on the wall] for the new year, can these remarks be considered as fit for this purpose?

All our comrades must uphold the concept of one divides into two at all times. This is a conclusion reached at the meeting sponsored by the party Central Committee for the first secretaries of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to review the work of this year. To view things with the concept of one divides into two, we can see, on the one hand, our party has achieved great progress in its work and the result has generally been good, but, on the other, we can also see that we have not been performing very well in other work, including that in which we ought to have done better, such as political and ideological work, [stabilizing the] commodity prices and so forth. How does literary and art work fare? I hope you comrades will have this issue analyzed with the scientific attitude of one divides into two so that the work next year will be done better.

As far as the movie industry is concerned, we must fully affirm that much progress was made during the past several years, and that new progress has been made this year. Therefore, good and generally acceptable movies have been the mainstream. This also tells that the majority of our comrades have been working very hard. Some middle-aged and young directors and playwrights have been maturing very quickly. Our workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals, our Communist Party members, CYL members and Young Pioneers, in short people of all nationalities throughout the country, male and female, young and old, people residing in cities and rural areas, are pleased with and welcome the accomplishments and progress achieved by the people of the movie industry and their hard work and contributions. They can see these accomplishments with their own eyes, and they will remember them and are thankful for them. This is what we usually mean as the rights and wrongs of a case will be judged by the public. This is a fact, and this is the kind of confidence we should have.

Of course, there is another side of the coin. This is to say that certain movies are really not good enough, that certain comrades have not worked hard enough, and that relatively serious shortcomings and errors still can be found in certain works and among certain individual comrades. The two main problems are simply thus:

First, the political sentiments of certain works and certain comrades are not healthy. Where are these unhealthy political sentiments reflected? They are reflected mainly in their attitude of ignoring, and even writing off, the great accomplishments achieved by the Chinese people in pursuing their socialist cause, and in their attitude of blaming the entire state, the entire revolutionary rank and file and the entire socialist system for the mistakes in our revolutionary process and for the destruction done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Because of such attitudes, they conclude that communism has no future, and that communism is but a dim illusion. That is what I mean by unhealthy political thinking or political sentiments.

Why do we have to criticize Comrade Bai Hua? It is because his work "Unrequited Love" is unhealthy in political thinking and harmful to the people's minds. Things have now turned out very well since he has been criticized and since he has realized his mistakes and made a self-criticism. Comrade Bai Hua is still a party member and a writer, and he will continue to write. Comrade Bai Hua produced some good works in the past. We hope he will produce more good works. People can see from this case that the party Central Committee's policies and ways of doing things are vastly different from those in the past, and these differences have demonstrated that our party has indeed learned a beneficial lesson from its mistakes and setbacks and has become more mature.

There is no doubt that we must convincingly and seriously criticize erroneous things. Here, we must adhere to truths and never try to save face. It is best that one conduct self-criticism earnestly instead of shielding a shortcoming or fault. The comrades, readers and audience must help him. This is not only true for writers, but also true for the

responsible comrades of our party committees at all levels. Can we criticize the Standing Committee members of the party Central Committee's Political Bureau and the comrades of the Secretariat if they have committed mistakes? Naturally we can criticize them. We can even criticize Comrade Mao Zedong's errors. Why can't we criticize ourselves, if we commit mistakes? For our great cause, whoever makes mistakes in our revolutionary ranks should be criticized or told to conduct self-criticism. However, we must face facts, be good to others and pay attention to science and policy. We must not wantonly criticize people. Perhaps some comrades would say that one's enthusiasm will be affected once criticism has started. We say: It all depends on what kind of enthusiasm you have. If it is the kind of enthusiasm detrimental to the socialist cause, should we not dampen this kind of enthusiasm? This kind of dampening would help the healthy enthusiasm to further develop at the same time.

Second, some comrades have failed to attain a lofty realm of thought in some of their works. Their realm of thought is even very low. Where does this phenomenon manifest itself? Mainly, it shows up when they are unable to correctly handle the relations between love affairs and the revolution and between love affairs and the socialist cause, while inappropriately overemphasizing the love affairs.

Naturally, love affairs constitute an important theme in literature and art. We not only may write on this theme, but should write on this theme. I had mentioned this at the symposium on script writing held last year. Who says that we cannot write about love affairs? They represent an integral part of human life and an important phenomenon in social life. The question is what role we let love affairs play. All communists, revolutionaries and patriots should be even more broadminded and farsighted. Ardently loving only our great motherland, our great people and our socialist cause is most valuable. If we can classify our sentiments of ardent love into number one, number two and number three, the number one should be this type of ardent love. Literature and art in the socialist period should be much more progressive than that in the new democratic revolution period. First of all, our literary and art works should educate the people, particularly the young people, to love the socialist cause of the motherland and our people. Fundamentally, love affairs should be identical with the revolutionary cause. For the people's interests and for the socialist cause, a revolutionary should be able to completely sacrifice one's own love affairs and even life, if it is necessary to do so.

People still remember the Hungarian poet Petofi's famous poem: "Life is indeed valuable, but the price of love is even more valuable. However, for the sake of freedom, I can give up both." For the nation's independence and the people's freedom in the motherland, this democratic revolutionary in the mid-19th century was able to attain this kind of lofty realm of thought. How can our socialist literature and art today retreat to the realm of thought where love is considered as something supreme? We should not let love between the sexes overtake the revolution and prevail over the revolution. Nor should we give publicity to love being the noblest and doing everything for the sake of love. Our literary and

art works should always be aimed at broadening the people's spiritual realm and at encouraging and inspiring the people to dedicate themselves to the socialist modernization of the motherland.

Only by upholding the concept of "one divides into two," will it be possible for us to attain a still higher goal. In the next year, not only must you attain a higher goal, you must also work hard to attain a higher goal in doing the work of our party and the work of all trades and professions. You said that in the next year, you would produce 100 feature films. This is fine. However, the question is what kind of feature films. Everyone believes the quantity of 100 feature films should be ensured. The quality of these films should also be better than those produced in 1981. It is, therefore, necessary for you comrades to work harder than ever to conscientiously solve the series of questions in the realms of ideology and art and in all fields of your work.

As for economic development, there must be a practical and "unexaggerated" growth rate next year. This means a certain quantitative as well as a strict qualitative requirement or combining of quantity with quality in this regard. I think this requirement is also completely applicable to film production.

If we make no big mistakes, adopt a scientific approach and go all out to push the national economy forward, it will be possible gradually to accelerate the improvement of the people's living standards a little bit. However, generally speaking, it will not be quite possible for our living standards to catch up with those in the most economically developed countries in the next 50 years or until the 2020's or 2030's. Let us review some history. China was gradually reduced to a semicolonial and semi-feudal society since the middle of the 19th century. After more than a century, a tremendous social change took place in China in the middle of the 20th century--China entered the period of socialism. It might take another century or so for a fundamental and tremendous socioeconomic change to occur in our country so that China will be among the advanced of the world--or such a change might not take place until the middle of the 21st century. Therefore, the course of social history has determined that we Chinese have to bear more hardships in this century and the next. What is so serious about bearing some hardships? Difficulties and hardships will help you succeed in your undertakings. This century and the next will be the two centuries in which the Chinese nation will bring about tremendous changes and make tremendous progress.

Such historical development and changes require our comrades to conscientiously experience all kinds of hardships and tempering. After this difficult historical stage, our nation will have a bright future. This is the realm of thought in which our minds are emancipated. Such a realm of thought is one of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism. Is this not realistic? We must be determined to work hard in the next five decades to make China a modern, powerful socialist country with political stability, economic prosperity, developed education and high ethical standards and to make our country really stand up. This will be a close

integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. Could one be called a revolutionary realist if one disregards the nature of historical development and regards the people's cause and ideals as worthless or devoid of any merit? That is shortsighted, naturalistic and indicative of a declining mentality.

Comrades, this question concerning the realm of thought is one of a fundamental character and characteristic of the times. Among our people, party members and cadres, there will definitely be more and more people who firmly believe that our country will effect a tremendous change or progress from disorder to order and from poverty to prosperity and who conscientiously work hard for this purpose. Now some people eagerly look forward to this, others are half believing and half doubting and still a very small number of people determinedly oppose such a tremendous change and progress and want to go backward. This requires us to turn our party's correct lines and objectives, through our ideological, political, theoretical, propaganda, literary and art, journalistic and educational work, into the firm will and conviction of large numbers of party members, cadres and people, into the ideas, consciousness and public opinion of hundreds of millions of people of various nationalities and into their actions. There will be no future for our literature and art if they do not serve this purpose. If our writers and artists fail to stand ahead of the times but stand aside and only write, perform or sing something about the "wind, flowers, snow and moon" and "love," or if they stand behind the times and only write, perform or sing something "miserable" or which is "unbearable to recall," then, what future will they have? There will be no future at all for those who stand opposed to use and distort and curse the revolution with a mentality marked by antipathy and gloom and with the language of hatred, and they are bound to be cast aside by the people. Of course, this does not in the slightest degree mean that ugly phenomena in our social life cannot be criticized. We have said on several occasions that they can and should be criticized. The question here is what stand you take and your frame of thought.

Comrade Xia Yan has just asked me to say more about the question of study. I think this is an extremely important question. The question of restudy faces not only you in your profession but also the whole party and people of all nationalities throughout the country, including us. Of course, the division of work in society varies from people to people. However, there are common yet different requirements for people in study. As far as writers and artists are concerned, I think that they must step up their study of Marxism, social life, culture, science and history.

Marxism, which came into being more than 100 years ago, has its rich theory of literature and art. But this does not mean that authors of classical works of Marxism have provided readymade answers to all questions about literary and art work. Our study of Marxism today is for no other purpose than guiding our artistic practice with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. We should strive to attain a higher ideological and a higher artistic level and to integrate the one with the other or to merge them into a single whole. Only in this way will we be able to greatly raise our realm of thought and to promote social progress in a particular way.



I do not know if you have read Comrade Wang Chaowen's "The Concept of Aesthetics" and some other comrades' aesthetical works. I have read some of the book but have not yet finished it. I feel that there may be some shortcomings in all books on aesthetics, but they still can help us understand some concepts or common sense of aesthetics so that we can avoid detours in this regard. Now some of our comrades do not pay sufficient attention to theoretical questions, and our achievements in the theory of literature and art are very few indeed.

Writers and artists should go deep into the realities of life in order to observe, experience and analyze persons and social phenomena of various kinds--this is a prerequisite for our literary and art creation. If a writer does not do so, he can only fabricate stories according to his subjective needs. Take the plot of having a love affair in a tank for example. People only have to ask this: Since the number of personnel assigned to a tank is limited, how can another person be added to it so casually? Gorkiy once sincerely advised a young writer: Do not write anything in a hurry but study it first. He also said: One must pay attention to reality in order to portray new life vividly and effectively. There are three kinds of realities--the past reality, the present reality and the sketchy reality of the future.

In studying science, culture and history, one must pay particular attention to language. I think it necessary to remind comrades, especially young comrades, to pay close attention to this matter.

"A writing that is devoid of literary grace will not last long." This is quite right. It shows that a writing devoid of literary grace and refined language cannot touch people to the heart. This is an extremely important experience. Literary language is an art. A work without literary grace definitely has little vitality. Please take a look at Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Gao Yu, Lao She, Zhao Zhuli and other literary giants of modern times. Is any of them not a great master of the art of language? However, it appears that some young comrades have not paid close attention to this matter. If one does not have sufficient literary accomplishment and is unwilling to study some classical Chinese poems and prose, his writing will be insipid and devoid of the effect of touching people to the heart. If one goes on like this, how can one do one's job?

Certain comrades mentioned the movie "Bosom Friend." I think a movie like this can be produced. Cai E indeed rendered outstanding service in the struggle of overthrowing Yuan Shikai during the old democratic revolutionary period, and Xiao Fengxian can be regarded as a woman with foresight and courage. However, I do not know whether the movie's playwright and director read Xiao Fengxian's elegiac couplet for Cai E. The first part of the couplet reads: "Over the boundless horizon in the south, you ascended like a roc that wings skyward, lifted by the cyclone. How can I, a survivor of a chaotic world, bear the fact that our union has become a mere dream?" The second half reads: "During your several years of stay in the north, I pitied myself for having led an aimless life. But after having you, a hero, as my bosom friend, what is fleeting will be remembered

forever." You can see that this couplet, which mentions Cai's lofty ambition and Xiao Fengxian herself, as well as her relationship with Cai, has a fairly deep perception and literary grace. I hear that it was written by a literati in Xiao Fengxian's name. Nevertheless, it has a certain literary value. I think it would be nice if the movie "Bosom Friend" used this couplet as its theme and even used its words for the lyrics of a theme song. From this we can see that we must continue to brush up on history and culture. If our works have a correct theme and tell a touching story with a rich, graceful language, they certainly can powerfully educate and inspire our people.

Some comrades maintain that our movies, like ball games, should be up to the standard that they can compete with other countries on the international movie scene. I think this issue must be analyzed because we will lose our bearings if it is not clearly analyzed. Nowadays, the international sports tournaments are matches of athletic skills conducted under unified competition regulations and judging standards that are internationally acknowledged. In light of these regulations and standards, who wins and who loses can be clearly distinguished, and the results, which do not have a class character, are spontaneously recognized by the whole world. However, literature and art, including motion pictures, are different. It is one of the ideological departments that has a strong class and social character. The same literary and art work may be judged differently, or even diametrically, by different people because of differences in their social status and world outlook. Of course, different peoples and different countries can and should learn from each other in the field of artistic forms and skills of their literature and art. All the positive results from the literature and art of all nations will contribute to mankind's cultural development. In the final analysis, however, whether our literature and art has a great vitality depends only on whether it meets the needs for the progress of people of all nationalities. Therefore, the goal of struggle of our literature and art is not what it can accomplish internationally, but how it can penetrate the hearts of the broad masses of Chinese people and become a powerful spiritual weapon that can arouse hundreds of millions of Chinese people to struggle for socialist modernization. If our literature and art really attains this goal, it has expressed its major international significance. If our own culture can be developed and thrive healthily in a great country like China, which has one-fourth of the world's population, and if our people will emerge in the world as a highly civilized nation, it will be an inestimable contribution to and a tremendous motivating force in the world's cultural development. Is it possible then that this will not be recorded in full detail in the cultural history of the world?

In short, in the interest of our country and people, we must heighten our spirits, rise up and be ready to exert sustained and strenuous efforts to build a stronger and more prosperous country. We must also emulate the Chinese women's volleyball team's spirit of winning glory for the motherland and the people. Some comrades say that their burden is heavy and they already feel the "pressure." I think this is good. When tap water cannot reach the upper floors of tall buildings, it is because there is not enough

pressure. There must be some pressure, but, of course, it should not be too large. In the final analysis, we rely on our legs in order to attain a still higher goal. Whether our legs can make large steps depends on how loyal we are to our motherland, the people, the party and the socialist cause.

This meeting is being held quite successfully. I propose that a meeting like this be held every December. The meeting should be larger so it will be attended by directors, playwrights and some performers and singers. The purpose for settling the general account at the end of the year is to be prepared for the fighting during the new year. Let me repeat what I said: We must wage a hard struggle in order to attain a still higher goal!

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## CARRY ON THE STUDY OF THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS IN A DEEPCGOING WAY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 7-8

[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] Vast numbers of cadres and the masses are studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. People are in high spirits in this study. All localities and authorities at all levels have effectively and rapidly mobilized leading cadres to explain and publicize the documents and train backbone members in propaganda work. Many comrades believe that this represents a good beginning for deepening understanding, unifying thought and putting into effect the spirit of the 12th party congress.

The congress documents, in a concentrated way, reflect the will of members of the CPC and the whole nation and express their ideals. Therefore, these documents have a strong appeal. These scientific and programmatic documents, different from other ordinary work reports, offer a regularized summation of the active practice led by our party both in reviewing our previous work and in planning our future work. For this reason, our theorists, journalists, educators and personnel engaged in party and government work are all required to explain, give guidance, make expositions and give proof so as to help cadres and the masses to study the documents well, have a good command of the spirit and unify thought in order to arouse the people of the whole nation to go all out and struggle with one heart and one mind for the realization of socialist modernization.

Now, in the wake of the publishment of the documents, we can see that a great variety of material for study, guidance and reference has also appeared. Apart from being carried by the press, this is also being published in pamphlet form. This demonstrates the great efforts made by propaganda workers and their initial achievements. However, a new problem has also arisen in this good situation. Such a large volume of things emerging before readers will simply confuse them and they will simply be at a loss over which to choose as reference and which to read as the primary source, as people's ability to make judgments is different and their time and energy are both limited. How can we achieve good results in our study? This is a question that we must take seriously. Now, some comrades are not concentrating on the study of the documents. They only skim through the documents and believe that they have fulfilled the task.

Some even fail to finish reading the whole document, and then they turn to summary and guidance material and take this in place of the documents. This is a method of "putting the cart before the horse." This will not achieve good results.

Comrades in charge of organizing the study should pay attention to this problem. They should really help everybody concentrate on the study of the documents. If people only have superficial knowledge and fail to master the essence, the study will be fruitless. Study is a painstaking mental labor and requires real efforts. Glancing over something once or twice cannot be considered as finishing the study. Moreover, having studied something does not mean that one understands it and understanding it does not mean having a good command of it. The requirement for the study of the 12th congress documents should be not only able to understand them, but also to have a good command of the essence of spirit. To this end, we should, on the basis of reading the documents carefully and thoroughly, require different people to take different approaches in the study. Some can take notes of one paragraph after another; some can write their viewpoints on various questions; and others can compare the documents with other documents and make an analysis so as to deepen their understanding. When encountering difficulties in the study, we should think them over by ourselves and then read some selected guidance and reference material. Focus points should be selected in the study of the documents. Material beyond the documents should also be tackled after being selected. The method of using the same strength to tackle all problems and extensive reading is inadvisable.

It is necessary to oppose both "leftist" and rightist deviations in connection with our real thinking. To really achieve good results in the study of the documents, it is necessary to relate what we have learned with our own thinking, especially our thinking since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and check whether there is something in our minds that hinders the implementation of the 12th congress spirit. It should be noted that some remnant influences of "leftism" have not been thoroughly eliminated in our work. For example, in dealing with class struggle, some people think that the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" is correct also as we embark on hitting at serious economic crimes or try to dish up this slogan in a new form. In approaching the relationship between politics and economy, some people are keen on reviving formalism and empty talk in political work when we stress the importance of political and ideological work and they dish up again some imprecise or unsuitable viewpoints, such as, "place politics in command" and "politics must take precedence over economy." In dealing with intellectuals, some people do not recognize that intellectuals constitute a reliable strength, as do workers and peasants in building socialism, and they continue to cling to the outdated proposition and policy of "unite, educate and reform." In approaching education, science and culture, some people indiscriminately stick a label of bourgeoisie on all of these and set them against laboring people; they flaunt the ignorance and backwardness that history leaves to the laborers as the true color of the proletariat. At the same time, in actual life, there also exists the rightist tendency of deviating from and

even negating the four cardinal principles. We must also struggle against the bourgeois liberalist tendency and never relax this struggle. How can we give up necessary criticism and struggle against the erroneous viewpoint of negating that our country has been a socialist society, the pessimistic and negative arguments that merely look at the dark side of our society while we deny our bright side and the superiority of our socialist system and the practice of propagating the old formulas and slogans of the bourgeoisie by sticking some "communist" terms on them? All this constitutes obstacles to the implementation of the 12th congress spirit. Without clearing up these obstacles, how can we really master the essence of the documents' spirit? In short, we must carry out an ideological struggle on the two fronts against both "leftist" and rightist deviations and avoid focusing on the criticism of one erroneous tendency to the neglect of another.

It is necessary to link the study of the documents with the study of basic theory of Marxism. At the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, when talking about the study of the 12th congress documents, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "We should first do our best to master the basic spirit of the documents and associate this with the relevant basic theory of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong so as to unify our thinking." This is a very timely and important instruction. Principles and policies adopted by the 12th party congress are all in keeping with the laws of historical development and the people's demands. Their ideological and theoretical foundation is laid on the basic theory of Marxism. Without the knowledge of the relevant basic theory, we will not have a profound understanding of the essence of the 12th congress documents' spirit. Of course, we cannot lay aside the 12th congress documents to study those basic Marxist works. Rather, the study of the Marxist basic works should serve the study of the 12th congress documents.

On the basis of having a profound understanding and a good command of the spirit of the 12th congress documents, we should try our best to relate our study with reality of our units and solve some resolvable problems in a methodical way. We are faced with the great task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We should seriously consider how to create a new situation in our respective work, what to initiate and what to reform. We should persist in the practice and measures that are in line with the principles and policies laid down by the 12th party congress and strive to overcome existing shortcomings and deficiencies. Through study, we should review the experiences in our work. This will help us better understand the 12th congress documents and more conscientiously and firmly implement the principles and policies decided by the 12th party congress.

The key reason why the study in the previous period was carried out in a down-to-earth way is because leaders at all levels have taken the lead in the study. In order to conduct the study in a more effective and lively way, it is suggested that leading cadres should be prepared and give relevant answers to the people's questions, should join the discussions with the masses and if different opinions exist, they can also take part in debates. In this way, with the exchange of ideas between leaders and the masses, the study will be filled with vigor and will be led to a more profound degree.

## PARTY BUILDING AND THE PROGRAM FOR CREATING A NEW SITUATION IN ALL FIELDS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 9-13

[Article by Zheng Hui [6774 1920]]

[Text] The correct program and the series of principles and policies for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization outlined at the 12th party congress constitute a fundamental basis for all fields of work in China's socialist construction in the years to come. They also constitute a fundamental basis for party building, particularly the consolidation of party organizations to be launched very soon. Here, I would like to discuss my impressions on the guiding role of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report on strengthening party building.

### I

In his opening address at the 12th party congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experiences. Referring to socialist development, the new party constitution pointed out in the general program section: "The development and improvement of the socialist system is a long historical process," and "the cause of socialism is advancing and is bound to triumph gradually throughout the world along paths that are suited to the specific conditions in each country and are chosen by its people of their own free will." An important principle of scientific socialism has been advanced here. It provides people with a good deal of valuable enlightenment to correctly understand socialism.

For a long time in the past there has been an oversimplified notion about socialism to the effect that after establishing the socialist system according to a fixed pattern, we can develop it speedily or easily into a perfect and ideal state. The facts are just the opposite. Socialism, this brandnew social system in human history, was first established in a number of countries which were relatively backward economically and culturally and the conditions of which were extremely complicated. Its development can never be uniform or smooth sailing. In the course of practicing socialism, we are bound to go through many difficulties and setbacks and many even

commit grave errors. Under the conditions when serious errors have been committed and tremendous setbacks exist in some specific systems, the superiority of socialism cannot be fully or notably brought into play. Marxism has brought to light the general laws governing socialism in historical developments. Only by integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities in their own countries and finding the correct paths that are suited to the specific conditions in their own countries is it possible for communists in various countries to achieve successes in socialism. Therefore, socialism will advance to common victory on a world scale through various forms and paths. It will be impossible to attain good results by indiscriminately copying the experience or patterns of foreign countries without maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands or by imposing one country's experience or pattern on others. Under the guidance of Marxism, all roads lead to communism. This is a historical trend in the contemporary world communist movement.

Our party has succeeded in solving the questions of choosing a path for the democratic revolution suited to China's specific conditions and for the socialist transformation of the means of production. After the socialist system was established in an all-round way, our party was confronted with a completely new and more difficult and complicated problem of breaking a new path for socialist construction that is suited to China's national conditions. Everybody knows that in the course of solving this problem, our party has made painstaking efforts and paid a heavy price. After going through a tortuous path, we are now embarking on a new journey of historical development. The 12th party congress represents a great milestone of this new journey. The documents, such as Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address at the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th party congress and the new party constitution, are the banners guiding our victorious advance. The documents comprehensively and penetratingly expound the basic contents of socialist economic, ideological, cultural and political construction, their respective status and their relationships with one another in accordance with guidelines of the party's general task in the new historical period. These expositions have taught us that the four modernizations are the focal point of the whole party's work and the basis for solving international and domestic problems. At the same time, great efforts should be made to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. Building socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy is both an important aspect of our fundamental objectives and tasks and an important guarantee for building socialist material civilization. The building of the three aspects are closely related with, and promote, one another. All these constitute a complete program for building socialism as proposed by our party. They also represent an enormous progress our party has achieved in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country and in its protracted efforts to explore a socialist path with Chinese characteristics.

Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: In comparison with the time of the eighth party congress, our party has gained a much deeper understanding of

the laws governing China's socialist construction and acquired much more experience. At the time of the eighth party congress, the situation in launching all-round socialist construction developed very speedily and our party was not adequately prepared in both theory and practice. The line of the eighth party congress was correct. However, it failed to mature or solidly establish itself and, consequently, failed to prevent the occurrence of serious errors in a later period. History has profoundly educated the whole party. From the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the 12th party congress, our party systematically summed up the historical experience, both positive and negative, since the founding of the PRC and finally reached a new scientific plane in understanding the specific conditions of Chinese society and ways to build socialism in accordance with China's specific conditions. Naturally, we cannot say that we have satisfactorily and thoroughly solved this problem. Many principles and policies still remain to be further perfected, substantiated and revised. However, it should be said that the basic path is correct. This is indeed of decisive significance to the growth and prosperity of our party and our socialist cause.

Comrade Mao Zedong set forth, expounded and proved the idea of the close relationship between our party building and party political line. More than 30 years' experience of party building since the founding of the PRC has once again confirmed this idea. In the period of democratic revolution, party building was closely interrelated with the party's task of dealing with the united front and armed struggle. Similarly, in the period of socialism, party building is also closely interrelated with the party's task of dealing with the socialist modernization program. When the party correctly formulated and implemented the line for building socialism, the party invariably developed and made rapid progress. Conversely, when there were some deviations in the party's line, particularly when such a serious error as the "Cultural Revolution" occurred, great damages were likewise done to party building. Now, our party has led the people in achieving a great transformation of historic significance and has formulated a correct program for socialist modernization, thus providing the most important and fundamental guarantee for the party's victorious development. In the course of creating a new situation in all fields in the years to come, our party will certainly be able to make our ranks purer and stronger in light of implementing the correct political line and, consequently, shoulder our historical missions more satisfactorily.

## II

In accordance with the specific conditions and requirements of the new historical period, the party constitution has set forth in the general program the three basic requirements that should be met in strengthening party building: 1) A high degree of ideological and political unity; 2) wholehearted service to the people; and 3) adherence to democratic centralism. What should be done to meet the three basic requirements and raise party building to a new height in relation to the socialist modernization program set forth in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th party congress?



A high degree of ideological and political unity constitutes the first of the three basic requirements. The unity referred to is a unity based on the basic political and ideological principles and Marxism. In the past, when the "leftist" errors held a dominant position within the party, normal debates on different views among comrades within the party were regarded as a serious struggle of line and as class struggle. Excessive means of struggle were used to enforce an erroneous ideological and political principle. This inflicted grave damage on the cause of the party and the people. We should never repeat this historical error. However, we should not negate the extreme importance of party leadership with the errors committed by the leaders of the party; neither should we negate the important principle of upholding a high degree of ideological and political unity in the party with the pretext that there has been a lesson of enforcing unanimity within the party under the erroneous guiding ideology. The problem is that we should rely on the improvement of the party's ideological and theoretical level, the maturity of its political experience, the soundness of its democratic centralism and the development of its democratic life to ensure ideological and political unity in the party based on Marxism. In view of the fact that the party has formulated a correct line and that inner-party life has been increasingly restored to normal, it is perfectly necessary and entirely possible for us to meet this requirement. In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang has summed up our experience in effecting a great and historic change over the past 6 years. An important experience is that, on some major ideological and political questions of principle, the CPC Central Committee has waged appropriate struggles on two fronts--against both the "left" and the right deviation, and maintained the scientific character and unity of the party's guiding ideology. Without this scientific character and without this ideological and political unity, there would not be such a good political and economic situation as we have today. This truth is clear to all.

The socialist modernization program set forth by the 12th party congress has correctly handled the relationship between socialist economic construction, on the one hand, and socialist ideological, cultural and political construction, on the other. It has correctly handled the relationship between the contradictions among the people and those between the people and the enemy in the present stage of socialism as well as the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual. It has correctly handled the relationship between the actual conditions and present policies of socialism, on the one hand, and the ideological system and lofty ideals of communism, on the other. These are important problems which our party has, for many years in the past, strived to solve but has not been able to solve well. In handling these problems, the "leftist" errors have invariably driven an aspect of contradiction to extremes and handled it in a completely reverse and nonsensical manner, thus degenerating into serious idealism and metaphysics. The ideological and political unity enforced according to this "leftist" errors can only be formal or false unity, which inevitably damaged the party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts, discredited socialism and dampened the enthusiasm of numerous party members in pursuing the communist ideal. The current correct program set forth by the CPC Central Committee has broken completely with the "leftist" errors in the past and

has also made a clean break from the rightist deviation. To achieve political unity within the whole party with this program will enable the whole party to greatly raise its Marxist level, be firmer and more energetic in its current socialist practice and fully confident in the long-term prospects of future communism.

In its efforts to bring order out of chaos in all fields in the past few years, the CPC Central Committee has, first and foremost, promoted ideologically the Marxist vitality of daring to make innovations and inventions and discarded all viewpoints which have been worshipped in the past and which have been proved through long-term practice to be incorrect. It has applied basic Marxist principles and formulated principles and policies in accordance with objective conditions. It has also constantly improved and perfected the content of the present principles and policies through practice. The process in which these principles and policies have taken shape is one of constant development from practice to knowledge and from knowledge to practice, and one of repeated development of from the masses to the masses. There is no end to practice and there is no end to learning. The guiding ideology of the party is in a state of lively movement. Therefore, the high level of ideological and political unity which the new party constitution calls on the whole party to maintain is by no means a rigid and mechanical uniformity but a vigorous and lively unity based on correct integration of theory with practice and of leadership with the masses. This is a fine tradition which has taken shape in our party for a long time and which our party now pays particular attention to promote.

A primary factor in achieving a high level of ideological and political unity is to step up our study. The party constitution stipulates that all party members, particularly party cadres, should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, essential knowledge concerning the party, and the party's line, principles, policies and decisions and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge. They should go deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies and be good at waging struggles against various erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party. In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang stressed the necessity of vigorously stepping up the education and training of cadres. He regarded this as a strategic measure for improving the quality of cadres. We should carry out the training of cadres according to this guideline. Provided that party members and cadres achieve notable successes in their studies, the whole party will be able to have a common language on major ideological and political issues and further lead the masses.

### III

The second basic requirement for strengthening party building set forth in the new party constitution is that party members should serve the people with heart and soul. Our party has always regarded service to the people as its sole purpose. It has always stressed that the words and deeds of party members should conform to the people's interests, for this is the highest criterion. In the protracted and ruthless armed struggles and underground struggles in the past, our numerous party members feared no



sacrifices and fought bravely for the liberation of the Chinese people, displaying a high level of communist consciousness. After the party becomes a party in power leading the political power of the state, by relying on the political power, it is able to work for the interests of the people on a larger scale and degree. On the other hand, the leading status of the party also subjects it to the danger of divorcing itself from the masses and of abusing its power. Once this danger becomes a reality, the damages done to the interests of the people will be much more serious than an error committed in the revolutionary war period. The "Cultural Revolution" precisely serves as a profound lesson. It was the outcome of a fault in the building of party in power and was in turn a cause for the huge wound inflicted on the party. Due to the great damages done to the party politically, ideologically and organizationally in the decade of domestic turmoil, the phenomena of using public office for personal gain among some party cadres was fairly serious. Through consolidation of party organizations over the past few years, conditions have greatly improved in the party. However, the contradictions of whether serving the people or seeking personal gain have not been completely solved or have not been solved at all among many party members.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's report comprehensively analyzed the present condition of our party and set forth several problems that we should concentrate on solving in party building at the present stage. The party is reforming the leading bodies; leading cadres of the party at various levels are engaging in cooperation between the old and the new and the succession of the old by the new. The party demands that large numbers of young and middle-aged cadres be promoted to various leading posts in good time and that veteran cadres who have been relieved of their heavy responsibility in "front line" posts continue to shoulder the tasks of passing on experience, giving help and setting an example. The party demands that the young and middle-aged cadres who have been newly promoted to leading posts modestly learn the skills needed in economic and construction work and, with the spirit of doing pioneering work, score outstanding successes in their work. The party also demands that party organizations at various levels and the numerous party members establish close ties with the workers, peasants and intellectuals and step up work with the masses. In view of the fact that the existence of impurities in ideology, style and organization within the party is not suited to the new situation and tasks, it is therefore necessary to conduct an overall consolidation of party organizations over a period of 3 years. In a nutshell, the solution of all these problems will enable party organizations and party members to dedicate themselves with the spirit of serving the people with heart and soul in socialist modernization. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "We must lay stress on getting every member to understand clearly the character, position and role of the party and to realize that all party members have only the duty to serve the people diligently and conscientiously, and no right whatsoever to take advantage of their power and positions to 'fatten' themselves at the expense of the state and the masses." The members of a party in power have many favorable conditions and opportunities to use public office for personal gain, to benefit themselves at the expense of public interests or to "fatten" themselves at the expense of the state and the masses. In order

to be a qualified party member, one should never be allowed to "fatten" oneself like this. In many of its articles, the new party constitution has made specific provisions on this question. This is also an important aspect showing that the requirements for party members and party cadres in the new period are more exacting than before.

Party members should have the idea of wholehearted service to the people. This is determined by the character and tasks of our party. Our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and its ultimate goal is the realization of communism. With the exception of the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of people, the party does not have special interests of its own. The communist social system that the party wants to establish is the most advanced and superior social system in human history. Under this social system, the relationship between men and the relationship between the individual and society should be a completely new type of social relationship. Does the individual or society hold supreme? Is all for the individual or is the individual subservient to society? This is a fundamental factor distinguishing a new society of public ownership from the previous society of private ownership. In a communist society, there are ample and good conditions to ensure personal development and satisfy personal interests. However, personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of society and personal development must be adapted to the development of society. In the initial stage of communism, it is likewise necessary to establish the fundamental principle that society should protect the individual and the individual should submit to society. It is different from the higher stage of communism only in some respect of its specific contents. Therefore, the idea of wholehearted service to the people is a communist idea reflecting a new type of social relationship. An important component of building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is to develop this advanced idea and this new type of social relationship. If, in ideological building, our party does not put forward the requirement of wholehearted service to the people, the party's role of main support in the building of spiritual civilization in the entire society is out of the question. Neither can we use these contents to influence and educate the broad masses. Naturally, our party has invariably stressed that it is necessary to strictly differentiate publicity of the communist ideological system from the current program of action and the present policies. At the present stage, in economic and social life, we should uphold the system of distribution according to work and other social systems. We should demand that all members of society become communists. However, if, in the previous new democratic stage, our party was able to influence the masses with its communist spirit and win victories, are there any doubts about the necessity for party members to firmly acquire the idea of wholehearted service to the people today, when the party has stressed the building of socialist spiritual civilization as a fundamental objective of socialism?

#### IV

The third basic requirement for strengthening party building set forth in the new party constitution is adherence to democratic centralism. With

respect to the stipulation of the party's basic principle of democratic centralism, the new party constitution is an improvement on all previous constitutions and is fuller in content. This is a special feature of the new party constitution.

In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang also concentrated on expounding the importance of strengthening democratic centralism and further normalizing inner-party political life. Now, the political life of the CPC Central Committee and many local party organizations has been restored to normal. This represents a major progress. However, undemocratic practices and patriarchal ways still have not been eradicated in many organizations, and cases of decentralism and liberalism exist to a serious extent. We must concentrate on solving this problem when we strengthen the party organizationally in the days to come.

The party's democratic centralism reflects, in essence, a new type of political relationship within the party in the organizational system. In a socialist society, there is a new type of political relationship among the people and there is also a new type of political relationship within the political party of the working class. The 12th party congress pointed out that great efforts should be made to build a high level of socialist democracy and that it is necessary to establish, in accordance with the principle of socialist democracy, a relationship of equality between men and a correct relationship between the individual and society. Within the Communist Party, there should be a higher standard and stricter demand for this political relationship. All party members enjoy rights within the limits prescribed by the party constitution, discharge the duties of membership and observe a unified discipline. There should be equality in these basic respects. The duties and limits of authorities of the higher party organizations are different from those of the lower party organizations, and the duties and limits of authorities of party organizations are different from those of party members. In their mutual relations, there are differences between the leader and the led. However, these differences in work and posts do not mean that there are differences between the honorable and the lowly, between the high and the low. Politically, there is complete equality between them. Through the implementation of democratic centralism, the party develops truth and rectifies errors, thus attaining unity and unification of the party on the basis of Marxism. This new type of political relationship cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the feudal autocratic system and bourgeois liberalism. The organizational system of the party's democratic centralism has been established on the basis of this new type of political relationship; the improvement of the functioning of democratic centralism invariably promotes the development of this new type of political relationship.

When referring to the reform of the system of leadership and the leading organs, Comrade Hu Yaobang, in his report, also concentrated on expounding on the correct solution of the question of party leadership over government organs and over enterprises and institutions. It was pointed out in the report that it is necessary to achieve a proper division of labor between the party and the government and between party work and administrative and

production work in enterprises and institutions. This is a major question concerning how the party can correctly bring into play its leading role. The new party constitution has for the first time made a clear stipulation in this respect. A good solution of this problem will enable CPC committees at various levels to extricate themselves from routine administrative work and strengthen party leadership ideologically and politically and party building so that the administrative and production departments can do their work actively, independently and concertedly, thus bringing their usefulness into full play. This problem also involves the establishment of a new type of socialist political relationship of democracy and equality between the party and the nonparty masses. We should regard it as a fundamental principle for building socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy and solve it conscientiously, gradually and rationally.

We should improve the functioning of democratic centralism and reform and improve the party's system of leadership in state life so that our relationship within the party and outside the party may develop soundly and so that we can create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. By that time, there will be unlimited prospects for the cause of socialist modernization.

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## THE BASIC POLICY OF ATTAINING A HIGH LEVEL OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

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[Article by Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6389]]

[Text] Like building a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilization, building a high level of socialist democracy is one of the fundamental tasks and targets of our country's people in the new historical period. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, extensive publicity and discussions have been carried out on the theory of building a high level of democracy, and many practical reforms with far-reaching significance have been made. The democratic system in our country, damaged in the past, has been restored and developed. However, building a high level of democracy is an arduous task and requires a long process of struggle. Discussions held in the past few years show that there exist different and even opposing views on many questions concerning democracy. These different views involve the understanding of the nature of socialist democracy and of questions such as democracy and dictatorship, democracy and centralism, the democratic system and democratic life, democracy and the legal system, democracy and party leadership, and so on. In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang gave in principle clear answers to these questions. The "report" is the guiding policy for building democracy from now on and at the same time it should also form the basis on which we increase our understanding and unify our thinking.

### I

In the sections concerning the building of democracy, the "report" first makes clear the nature of socialist democracy in our country and expounds the relationship between democracy and dictatorship.

The word democracy has many meanings and is often used to signify different things. According to the Marxist point of view, democracy is first of all a question of state system. Lenin said: "Democracy is one sort of state form, one of its patterns." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 257) In history, the replacement of the feudal system by bourgeois democracy was a great step forward. However, bourgeois democracy is only democracy for the exploiting classes, a very small percentage of the population, and it is a

trap and a fraud for the proletariat and other laboring people. Bourgeois democracy is in essence bourgeois dictatorship but the bourgeoisie has never admitted this. After leading the broad masses of the people in seizing state power, the proletariat set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the people's democratic dictatorship. Since this kind of democracy is for the laboring people, who account for the overwhelming majority of the population, and dictatorship is exercised only over a very small number of exploiters and hostile elements, the proletariat and the laboring people can openly announce that they must exercise dictatorship over the people's enemies while practicing democracy among themselves. As long as class struggle still exists, we must not deviate from Marxist theories on class struggle and on the state when examining and handling issues concerning democracy.

The basic Marxist views on democracy mentioned above have been repeatedly expounded in the party's documents in the past few years. The following questions can be explained on the basis of these views: First, democracy, which is a form of state structure and state system, also involves dictatorship. Therefore, when our party calls for building a high level of socialist democracy, it is at the same time calling for strengthening and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship. Only by developing a high level of democracy can we effectively exercise dictatorship and ensure the smooth progress of socialist construction. It is one-sided and wrong to separate democracy from dictatorship, thinking that calling for a "higher level of democracy" means ignoring dictatorship over the enemy, or that stressing the necessity of exercising dictatorship over the enemy means restricting democracy. Second, as a state system, socialist democracy is won by means of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat and is not established on the principle of the minority submitting to the majority. Moreover, after establishing this democratic system, a handful of class enemies who oppose socialism cannot be treated on the principle of the minority submitting to the majority. The principle of the minority submitting to the majority only applies to the question of how to exercise state power among the people. We must understand that class relationships come before relationships between the minority and the majority among the people under a democratic system. Otherwise, confusion will occur. Third, viewed from the essential nature of state power, socialist democracy, we say, is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy. As Lenin said, it is "millions of times" more democratic than bourgeois democracy. ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 634) This is because in our socialist country, although the democratic system and democratic life have not yet been entirely developed or perfected the proletariat and the laboring people are already in the ruling position and are masters of the country. On the other hand, in the capitalist countries, even in the most democratic ones, the broad masses of the people are still being ruled and exploited. If we forget fundamental class relationships and compare our democracy with bourgeois democracy only in terms of concrete systems and forms, serious ideological confusion will occur.

Some people may ask: Since socialist democracy is of a higher type, why do we still say that our democracy is not extensive enough and why must we

set ourselves the target and task of building a high level of democracy? This involves another aspect of the meaning of democracy. In the above discussions, we talk about the nature of state power, that is, state structure. Here, we will talk about the administrative system, that is, the form of organization of state power, the building of the democratic system and the development of democratic life. In this sense, our democracy is really not good enough and building a high level of democracy will involve a protracted process.

Socialist democracy is a new type of democracy meaning that the whole of the people manage the state. Since the socialist system has a short history, the task of building a high level of socialist democracy has not yet been accomplished in any country. Besides, accomplishing this task in China will involve special difficulties. China went through a feudal period lasting several thousands of years and it lacks democratic traditions. In the past, we did not pay enough attention to developing democracy either. So a lot of time is needed to make up for this. Besides, we have little experience in this respect. Under these circumstances, we can only accomplish the task of building a high level of democracy through systematic, unremitting and protracted efforts to carry out the modernization program and to build socialist spiritual civilization. It is not realistic to expect quick results or to attempt to do everything at one go.

In short, with regard to the question of building a high level of democracy, we must distinguish between the two different meanings of democracy and at the same time we must realize that they are closely linked. The proletariat and the laboring people have seized state power and set up the people's democratic dictatorship. This is the prerequisite for developing the democratic system and democratic life. Without state power, there will be no democracy for the laboring people. On the other hand, developing a highly democratic system and life is an important condition for upholding the people's democratic dictatorship. Without these, the power of the whole people to manage the state will never be fully realized or guaranteed.

## II

As far as the development of the democratic system and democratic life is concerned, our task in building a high level of socialist democracy, according to the report to the 12th party congress, involves the following main aspects:

1. The key to developing a high level of democracy is to continue to reform and improve our country's political structure and the structure of its leadership in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, and strengthen the building of organs of state power at all levels. The purpose of this work is to enable the people to better exercise state power and to enable government organs to lead and organize the people in building socialism.

All our state power belongs to the people. However, it is impossible for a billion people to directly grasp and exercise state power together. They



must do so by means of government bodies composed of their representatives. Lenin said: "We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy, without representative institutions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 211) In our country, the organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at all levels. This system of people's congresses organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, is an administrative system suited to our country's conditions, and a form of organization of state power capable of giving full expression to socialist democracy. Reforming our country's political structure and the structure of its leadership does not mean changing this basic system but reforming specific systems and forms of organization which have drawbacks and defects in order to improve this fundamental system day by day. There are two aspects of these reforms. With regard to the political system, they include strengthening the power of people's congresses and their respective standing committees at all levels, strengthening the functions and powers of the State Council and the people's governments at all levels and strictly implementing the responsibility system, abolishing the lifelong tenure system for state leaders, improving the election system and the supervision system of the masses over state cadres, and so on. Regarding the structure of the state's leadership and leading organs, these reforms are mainly aimed at overcoming problems such as overcentralization of powers, cadres concurrently holding too many posts, excessive numbers of deputies, overlapping organizations, duties and responsibilities not being clearly defined, overstaffing, mixing up the party's work with that of the government, bureaucracy and inefficiency. The essence of this work is to reform irrational cadre systems and to ensure that the ranks of cadres gradually become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. Reforms in this respect are more specific but very important parts of the reform of the political system.

The crucial question in this kind of reform is to implement the principle of democratic centralism comprehensively, from top to bottom. On the one hand, the power of state organs at all levels must be based on extensive democracy and these organs must really represent the interests and will of the people and enable the people to exercise their power. On the other hand, these organs must exercise the necessary centralism based on democracy so that they will become authoritative and effective and will be able to effectively lead and organize socialist construction. Centralism based on democracy is an inevitable means and form for realizing democracy. Some people think that calling for the building of a "high level of democracy" means ignoring centralism, while others think that centralism restricts democracy. They do not really understand the system of democratic centralism.

Of course, as a democratic political system, democratic centralism must first of all adhere to the principle of the minority submitting to the majority, and embody the views of the majority. However, in the work of our state organs, the principle of democratic centralism should at the same time become a kind of work method and work style. This kind of work method and work style is appropriate and complementary to the democratic nature of



our political system. In the past, we often regarded centralism based on democracy as merely a work method and work style and were not conscious that it was first of all a system. Of course, this is wrong. However, it is also a one-sided view to deny that at the same time democratic methods and style are necessary for a democratic system.

2. Socialist democracy is not merely a kind of political system. It should also be extended to various aspects of the people's political, economic, cultural and social life. This is an important part of developing a high level of democracy and an important expression of the superiority of socialist democracy over capitalist democracy. First, in addition to exercising their right to run the state by means of people's congresses at all levels, the people, as masters of the country and the society, must also directly enjoy rights of management to varying extents and in various forms in the political, economic, cultural and social life in which they participate. Only in this way can they give full play to their enthusiasm and initiative. Our country is so big that democracy will not exist in an all-round way if people only enjoy the former right. Second, democracy implies equality. In order to develop all-round socialist democracy, we must also establish, among the people and according to the principle of democracy, equal political relationships between man and man, including equality between nationalities, equality between man and woman, equality among citizens before the law, relationships between citizens and the state and social rights and duties. We must ensure that these relationships will become political guiding principles which people must observe, and ideological habits. This is an important part of building democracy and at the same time an important part of building socialist spiritual civilization. Third, in order to attain the goal mentioned above, democracy should also become a way for the people to carry out self-criticism and learn democratic, collective and communist ideology. A democratic method is one of discussion, criticism and self-criticism, persuasion and education. This is a method which was created by our party and the revolutionary ranks led by our party long ago and has been effectively used to raise the people's ideological consciousness and to resolve contradictions among them. Since the founding of the country, it has also been popularized among the whole people and very good results have been obtained. We must also see that without using the democratic method and raising the people's consciousness everywhere, the building of the socialist democratic system and the development of democratic life are not guaranteed.

We must closely link the building of socialist democracy with the building of the socialist legal system and systematize and legalize socialist democracy. With regard to this question, there exist two confused ideas. The first is thinking that it is insufficient to stress only the building of a "high level of democracy" because this will make some people ignore the law and social order. The second is thinking that the law restricts democracy and that stressing the building of the legal system will restrict the development of democracy. Both of these ideas result from the same mistaken view of democracy not as a system but as anarchy under which one may do as one pleases and the legal system is not regarded as a guarantee for democracy but as a restriction to it. These ideas set democracy against

the legal system in two different aspects. Neither the nature of socialist democracy nor the functions of the socialist system have been correctly understood. As a matter of fact, if we understand the correct meaning of socialist democracy and clarify the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, democracy and centralism, and the democratic system and democratic life, we will understand that socialist democracy is a political system and a social order which most conforms to the interests and desires of the whole people and is the most healthy and rational political relationship and habit of life. The socialist system only consolidates it in a legal form. Harming the people's interests and social order, and anarchy under which one may do as one pleases, are forbidden by the law because they undermine democracy. The nature and functions of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are essentially the same. The task of building a high level of democracy put forth by our party includes improving the socialist legal system.

Why should we then put forward the idea of closely combining the development of democracy with that of legal system? This is because socialist democracy is the content and foundation of the socialist legal system while the socialist legal system reflects and guarantees socialist democracy. Socialist democracy, whether as the essence of a country and the form of organization and mode of activities of state power, or as a guiding principle for the people's political relations and political life, should be written into law by the organs of state power (including constitutional and general laws). These laws must be observed by everybody, and compulsorily enforced by the organs of state power. Only in this manner can socialist democracy become an authoritative, firm and unshakable system. The degree of perfection of the socialist legal system marks the level of maturity and development of socialist democracy. Therefore, strengthening democracy and perfecting the legal system are two organically related aspects of the task of the development of a high level of socialist democracy.

The report to the 12th congress sums up our achievements in developing the legal system and puts forward our task for the future. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has summed up and drawn on historical lessons, begun to pay attention to developing the legal system and scored remarkable achievements. As a result, we have put an end to the idea and situation of "despising all law and authority" and set up initial rule by law. The draft of the new constitution soon to be examined and approved by the National People's Congress will in particular open a new phase in the development of our country's socialist democracy and legal system. It will provide an essential basis for extensive legislative work in the future. Our party's task for the future is to continue to lead the people to formulate and perfect various kinds of law while strengthening its leadership over the administration of law, strengthening education in the legal system and ensuring by various means the strict enforcement and observation of the law of our country.

Judging by the present situation, the latter task is even more important. This is because at present many of our people lack the concept of a legal system or are ignorant of the law. Our youth in particular is even more

ignorant about the law and its meaning. Quite a large number of our party members, including some of our leading cadres fail to see the significance of developing the legal system. Some of them even have a "special privilege" mentality and think that the law is formulated for common people, not for them. This is why there still exists the malpractice of failing to act according to the law or to strictly enforce it. In order to put an end to this malpractice, we should first carry out education in the legal system among all our people. In particular, we should educate and supervise the broad ranks of our party members and cadres and tell them to take the lead in observing the constitution and the law. We should begin with our broad ranks of party members and cadres, make every citizen understand the law and the obligation to observe the law and set up a practice of doing everything in accordance with the law throughout our society. Second, we should strictly enforce the law. The key to this is the actual implementation of the principle that every citizen being equal before the law. We should not allow any organization or any individual to have the privilege to transcend the constitution and the law. Our party should steadfastly safeguard the power of the judicial organs in independently exercising their authority and performing their duties. It should encourage and support the judicial workers in enforcing the law in an impartial and incorruptible manner. It should crack down on any practice of bending the law for the benefits of one's relatives or friends.

### III

Our country's socialist construction, including the construction of the material and spiritual civilizations and the development of a high level of democracy must be carried out under the party's leadership. The task, theory, principle and policies of developing a high level of democracy have been put forward by the party and must be gradually carried out under the leadership of the party. The question of whether we accept the leadership of the party is the key to the question of whether we will be able to develop our democracy along a socialist path. Recognition or otherwise of the party's leadership is the demarcation line between the socialist concept of democracy and the various kinds of erroneous bourgeois and petit bourgeois concepts of democracy. A very small number of people propose breaking away from the party's leadership, advocate a kind of "absolute democracy" divorced from the party's leadership and even raise the banner of fighting for democracy and freedom against the party. These people proclaim themselves or are called by others in flattery "fighters for democracy." In fact, their thoughts and actions hamper and impair the development of socialist democracy.

It is common for our comrades to have some muddled perception of the relationship between the development of democracy and the leadership of the party. Some think that since democracy means all the people being the masters and making decisions according to the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, it seems that we should not stress the party's leadership. Otherwise, we will go against the principle of "democracy." This view treats the principle of the people being the masters and the majority making decisions as being abstract and absolute and thus

distorts this principle. The party's leadership means using the revolutionary consciousness of the advanced class and the science of Marxism-Leninism to clearly point out the correct path of revolution and construction, enlighten the people, readjust their relationships, correctly sum up the interests and will of the people and unite and guide more and more masses in conscientiously carrying out the struggle for their own fundamental interests. The party is an indispensable tool for the people to win their final liberation that has emerged in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses of people. Without the leadership of the party, it would have been impossible in the past for the people to overthrow reactionary rule and win democracy; without the leadership of the party, it is impossible at present for the people to correctly and effectively exercise their right as masters. A little recollection of history and a little consideration of reality will enable us to realize that without the leadership of the party, it would be impossible for the people to exercise their right as masters in dealing with problems which are relatively wide in scope or complicated, let alone problems related to revolution and construction among millions of people. Therefore, a democracy that throws away the leadership of the party cannot be a socialist democracy. It only means worshipping the spontaneity of the masses and being the tail of the masses. It will inevitably result in going against the will of the majority and harming their interests.

However, the party's leadership involves mainly the formulation of the correct line, principles and policies and the gradual raising, through ideological and political work and the exemplary and guiding role of party members, of the people's awareness and the work of guiding them in fighting for their own interests. The party does not exercise its leadership over the people but among them. Just as it was impossible in the past for the party to act single-handedly to seize state power in place of the people, it is impossible now for the party to exercise the people's right as masters in their place. It can only organize and support the people in exercising their rights as masters. In the opinion of some comrades, the party's leadership conflicts with democracy and democracy is at best nothing but form. This has given rise to ideas and activities of neglecting the development of the system of democracy and failing to observe the law approved by the legislature of the people. By so doing, they will inevitably become divorced from the masses and weaken and impair socialist democracy and the legal system. Moreover, when the party's leadership commits mistakes and encroaches on the people's interests in dealing with some problems, we will not be able to promptly correct it. We have learned very profound lessons on this in the past. We should understand that the party is a part of the people. The party leads the people to set up the system of democracy and formulate the constitution and law. This system, constitution and law embody both the party's line, principles and policies on the one hand and the whole people's common interests and will on the other, reflecting the fact that the party's leadership and the people's exercise of the right as masters coincide. Therefore, the party must take the lead in implementing and observing this system, constitution and law. The "report" particularly stresses the principle that "the party must act within the scope allowed by the constitution and law." It demands that the

activities of all party members and organizations including both the central and the basic levels must be in accordance with the constitution and law of the state. This shows that the party takes the lead and respects the people's rights. As for the activities of some cadres who, under the pretext of exercising the party's leadership, use their power of office to pursue their private interests and privileges and violate the democratic system and the law of the state, they can never be regarded as exercising the party's leadership. On the contrary, they directly undermine the party's leadership. Of course, these activities must be strictly banned.

In short, our party's principle and policies on the theoretical relationship between developing democracy and strengthening democracy are clear and correct. Some specific systems and measures have to be formulated after we have made further practical investigations and summed up our experience. The key is to strive to improve the party's leadership while adhering to it. All our party members must pay attention to the development of democracy, establish an intimate and trusting relationship with the masses of people and their representative organs, and promote the development of the socialist democratic system and legal system by their exemplary actions in respecting democracy and observing the law.

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## A RELIABLE GUARANTEE FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 19-23

[Article by Shao Huaze [6730 5478 3419]]

[Text] Vigorously strengthening the modernization of national defense and further consolidating it is a reliable guarantee for the people of the whole country devotedly to carry out socialist construction.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward to the whole party and the people of the whole country the task of strengthening national defense. We must see the importance of this task and vigorously carry it out by linking it with our country's situation in the international arena and with the overall situation in our country's socialist construction.

Modernization of National Defense Is an Important Part of Socialist Modernization and a Strong Guarantee for Socialist Construction

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee formulated the strategic policy of shifting the focus of party and state work to modern socialist economic construction. This policy was set forth on the basis of the principal contradictions which needed to be resolved at home and also on the basis of our experiences and lessons of the past. It reflected the eager wish and basic interests of the people of the whole country.

In order to concentrate our energies on carrying out socialist modernization, we need a sustained, consolidated political situation of stability and unity at home as well as a peaceful international environment. In his report entitled "The Current Situation and Tasks" delivered on 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "As far as China is concerned, our foreign policy is to seek a peaceful environment in which to accomplish the four modernizations." "This is a major issue compatible not only with the interests of the Chinese people but with those of the people of the whole world."

However, unlike domestic affairs, international affairs are not decided exclusively by us. In the world at present, the superpowers are engaged in

fierce competition for their own benefits and for global domination. They are the main cause of unrest and turmoil in the world. The flames of war are raging in many places. The 1980's will be a decade marked by great turbulence and riddled with crises. Of course, the consciousness of the people of the world is widening and the forces against hegemonism are developing. Experience shows that the people of the world can upset the superpowers' strategic plans through persistent, unremitting struggle. World peace can be maintained provided the people of the whole world are truly united and struggle resolutely against hegemonism and expansionism of all kinds. However, possibility is not reality. Take China's actual environment for example. The Soviet Union has amassed heavy troops in its areas bordering on China and in areas in Mongolia bordering on China. It supports Vietnam in its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, expansionism in Indochina and Southeast Asia and continuous provocation in areas bordering on China. It invaded and occupied Afghanistan, China's neighbor, by armed force.

We are carrying out socialist construction under international conditions in which the world is far from tranquil and the danger of war still exists, and in a situation in which China's security is seriously threatened. For this reason, we must never slacken our vigilance and must strengthen the modernization of our national defense.

Strengthening our national defense is closely related to seeking a peaceful international environment. In seeking a peaceful environment for socialist construction, we need a correct foreign policy on the one hand and a consolidated national defense on the other. Both are indispensable. Hegemonists and other reactionary forces are bent on increasing actual strength to attain their goal of aggression and expansion. In order to cope with their aggression, we should definitely develop our own actual strength. When our actual strength (including our economic resources, political power and defense capability) is augmented, they will be forced to refrain from making reckless moves against us. Should they be blinded by lust for gain and stubbornly invade us, we will have full confidence in defeating them in battle. For this reason, based on the interests of our state and nation and those of defending world peace, we regard the modernization of our national defense as an organic component of the four modernizations. Building a powerful national defense is an important part of socialist modernization and an important guarantee for socialist construction. Socialist China is a peace-loving country which has a strong defense capability. Should anyone dare to launch a war of aggression against China, a crushing defeat is the only answer for them.

**Our Policy Is To Strengthen National Defense on the Basis of Vigorously Developing Economic Construction**

Building up national defense is a matter of great importance. However, strengthening national defense involves questions of both policy and guiding ideology.



The building up of national defense has different parts, involves work in many aspects and requires the existence of various conditions. The most important prerequisite is the development of the national economy. Building up national defense by taking it as an isolated matter is one policy; strengthening national defense on the basis of economic development is another. Practice shows that only the latter policy is correct and effective. This correct policy was first put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in his famous report entitled "On the Ten Major Relationships" delivered in 1956. He said: "We must strengthen our national defense, and to that end we must first of all strengthen our work in economic construction." "Only with faster growth in economic construction can there be greater progress in the building up of national defense."

According to the Marxist viewpoint, economic resources are the material basis of violence. Modern defense and modern warfare have become more dependent on the economy. As a result of the rapid progress in science and technology and the increasing modernization of industry and communications, defense equipment and installations need to be improved constantly and the weapons and other equipment of the armed forces also need to be renewed from time to time. This inevitably entails a tremendous increase in defense spending, both financially and materially. The needs and consumption of materials in modern warfare are beyond comparison with that in old-type warfare. Take the recent Malvinas war between Britain and Argentina for example. The war lasted for more than 70 days, inflicting heavy material damage and losses on both sides. Reportedly, Britain spent about \$2 billion on this expedition. Of course, whatever the conditions in which a modern war is fought and no matter how modern the weapons may be, political and human factors play a final, decisive role in determining whether a war will end in triumph or defeat.

The "theory that weapons are decisive" in war was wrong in the past and still is wrong today. Yet, the grim reality is that weapons are playing an ever-increasing role in war. Failing to realize or neglecting this point will surely lead to mistakes.

Undeniably, under the party's leadership and with the vigorous efforts of the people of the whole country over the past 33 years, we have won enormous achievements in building our national defense, and our army has expanded from a land force into a comprehensive army also including air and naval forces and other technical units. Relying on our own efforts, we have devised and produced the atom and hydrogen bombs, long-range guided missiles and other sophisticated strategic weapons for self-defense. We see this as something to be proud of. This is an important factor deterring the imperialists from launching a large-scale invasion against us. However, generally speaking, our weapons and equipment are relatively backward; they are restricted chiefly by the levels of economic development of our country. Modernization of national defense can only be a gradual process.

For this reason, we must correctly handle the relationship between building up the economy and building up national defense. The general principle guiding this relationship is, as pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain



Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, that "the building up of national defense must be in keeping with the building up of the economy" and, as pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, that "our national defense must be strengthened on the basis of vigorous economic development."

The 12th CPC National Congress put forward the objective of our country's economic construction for the last two decades of this century. Once this objective is realized, our country will have much greater economic strength and defense capability. In this sense, while striving to realize this great strategic objective of economic construction, we are vigorously strengthening national defense. If our tasks, including the building up of national defense, are separated from the central link of economic construction and impede economic development, the building up of national defense will inevitably be impeded; this does not accord with the people's interests.

On the other hand, with the daily development of the economy and the gradual improvement in people's livelihood, national defense should be modernized continuously. National defense should be supplied with increasingly better material and technical conditions and with ever better weapons and equipment which it needs. In drawing up plans for the development of industry, transportation, science and education, attention should be paid to the needs of building up national defense and launching a war against aggression in the future. From the viewpoint of national defense, first we should do what we are capable of doing, and second, we should strive to do it well. The first means that the scale and speed of building up national defense should be appropriate, should not go beyond the limits of our national financial and material capacities and should not affect the speed of economic construction. The second means that the limited financial and material resources should be used properly by bringing subjective initiative into full play and by adopting the various effective measures of having better troops and simpler administration and strictly practicing economy, so as to attain the greatest possible results. As far as the army is concerned, it must continuously improve its weapons and equipment and make full use of the existing ones so as to win victory with the available weapons and equipment. The building up of our national defense will develop steadily provided we adopt this correct policy.

**Strive To Build the PLA Into a Regular, Modern and Powerful Revolutionary Army**

The key to modernizing national defense is to build a regular, modern and powerful revolutionary army.

Our PLA has developed in the fire of a protracted revolutionary war. It is a completely new type of people's army led by the party, and numerous facts have proved that it is an army with powerful combat effectiveness. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, just as Comrade Hu Yaobang

pointed out in his report to the 12th party congress: "The PLA has achieved marked successes in improving its military training and its ideological and political work, in bettering its relations with the civil authorities and the people, in defending our frontiers and safeguarding national security and in helping socialist construction. It has further enhanced its military capability and political consciousness in line with the new historical conditions." We firmly believe that by working hard on this basis, the tempo of army building can certainly be accelerated.

New conditions, which did not exist before, have appeared in contemporary warfare. The most salient feature is three-dimensional warfare. It means that warfare will be simultaneously carried out in the air, on land and at sea, and it will be difficult to differentiate between the frontline and the rear areas. To adapt to the demands of this kind of warfare, we must further build the PLA into a powerful composite army able to operate in concert with various branches of the services under modern conditions. The organizational system, weaponry, strategy and tactics as well as cadre training of the army must be oriented in this direction.

The state of weaponry has an important bearing on the formation, establishment, strategy and tactics of the army. The appearance of modern weapons and the extensive application of the latest achievements of science and technology in war have presented numerous new problems to the pattern, strategy and tactics of warfare as well as to military organization. The PLA is now engaged in the world of readjusting, reorganizing and restructuring. It has implemented the policy of improving the quality of the troops, simplified the leadership structure, strengthened the composition of all service arms and intensified composite training. This is a policy decision of great significance. The implementation of the policy of readjustment will further improve the combat effectiveness of our army.

In the building of modern armed forces, the organization and command of warfare under modern conditions require large numbers of qualified personnel in the military, political and logistic fields. In the war years of the past, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly called for "learning warfare through warfare." This correct policy destroyed the aura of mystery surrounding military work for the whole party, successfully trained large numbers of military personnel who were brave and skillful in battle as well as loyal to the people, and resulted in the victory of the revolutionary war. Today's conditions are different. Qualified personnel who can organize and direct contemporary warfare must be fostered by relying on strict regular training in times of peace. In 1975 Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that the army raise the strategic position of education and training. In recent years, close attention has been paid to army training and the contents and methods of training have been reformed to meet the demands of future operations. All categories of military colleges at all levels have become better and better run, and outstanding results have been achieved. The modern military attainments of the cadres have rapidly improved, and the basic level cadres who have mastered the tactical skill and specialized ability of fighting under modern conditions are maturing. In the past, the battle fought continuously for more than

20 years meant that units possessed a large number of veteran cadres who had been tempered and tested for a long time in warfare as the backbone force in our army building.

This constituted the distinguishing feature and the superiority of our army. In recent years, a large number of young and middle-aged cadres with both ability and political integrity who are full of vigor and in good physical condition have also been constantly promoted to leading posts at all levels. This has injected new blood into the cadre contingent and made it more vigorous. Given the tasks and demands of the army, making the cadres more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and professionally more competent is of paramount importance. The proper solving of the problems of training cadres and making them younger in age will be of important significance to developing a new situation in army building.

Regardless of how weaponry will change or how different the pattern and scale of warfare will be, the morale, combat will and spirit of sacrifice of the army members play a very important role in the outcome of a battle. We have absolute superiority in this respect. The commanders and fighters of our army are loyal to the motherland and the people, and their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death and their strict and conscious discipline are world famous. In the protracted revolutionary war, the PLA established a complete set of ideological and political work policies, principles and methods which guaranteed its consolidation, raised morale and strengthened organizational discipline. During the 10 years of internal disorder, the fine tradition of army ideological and political work was severely damaged. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this tradition has been restored and carried forward.

In the building of socialist spiritual civilization, based on its own characteristics, the army has developed "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots" (have ideals, ethics, knowledge and physical strength, stress military appearance, manners and discipline, fearing neither hardship nor death) activities, and outstanding results have been obtained within a short time. A large number of advanced collectives and advanced individuals have appeared, and a profound change has taken place in the spiritual aspect of the army. Along with the more extensive and penetrating development of these activities and the further strengthening and improvement in ideological and political work, the revolutionization of the army will be raised to a new level. Our army has come from the people. It serves the people and has flesh-and-blood ties with the masses. The people also always use this profile of the image of the army to judge our party and state. The quality of the spiritual face of the army has a very important effect on the prestige of the party and the dignity of the motherland and also plays a very important role in improving party style and popular custom and building the whole of socialist spiritual civilization. The report to the 12th party congress proposed that "our army will serve not only as a Great Wall of steel guarding our socialist motherland but also as an important force in building our socialist material and spiritual civilization." This shows the high degree of confidence placed

by the CPC Central Committee on the army, and is a glorious task the army should and also must certainly undertake.

According to the teachings of Marxist-Leninist countries, the army is an important component of the state mechanism. The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" which will soon be submitted to the National People's Congress for consideration, has given a new definition on the position of the army in the state system and stipulated the setting up of a Central Military Commission of the state. This has been made as a result of summing up historical experiences and proceeding from our country's actual conditions and needs. This stipulation does not in any way abolish or weaken the leadership of the party over the army. The PLA is a people's army created and led by the CPC. History has proved that the leadership of the party over the army is essential for the interests of the state and the people and definitely cannot be shaken.

The preamble of the "draft of the revised constitution" has already clearly affirmed the leadership role of the party over the state and naturally also includes leadership over the part of the army belonging to the state. The various effective systems of the party leading the army, which have been practiced for a long time, must continue to be upheld. This is the basic guarantee for always preserving the quality of a people's army as well as the basic guarantee for speeding up the building of a modern regular army, and completely accords with the greatest interests of the people throughout the country.

#### Construction of Strong National Defense Must Rely on the Joint Efforts of People Throughout the Country Under Party Leadership

National defense modernization is one of the objectives of struggle for people throughout the country put forward by the party. National defense construction covers many fields. It is not the business of one or two departments nor is it just the business of the army. Strengthening national defense includes raising the combat effectiveness of the people's army, and this can only be achieved by relying on the joint efforts of the army and people under the unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee.

Under peaceful conditions, improving the people's understanding of national defense is an important matter. We must not waver in the least and must always adhere to this point of taking economic construction as the basis. However, we must guard against the misunderstanding among some of the comrades who seem to think that national defense construction is no longer so important. Our construction must as far as possible strive for a peaceful international environment. However, we cannot, because of a peaceful life, adopt the attitude of lowering our guard and slackening our vigilance. In particular, members of the PLA absolutely cannot slacken their combat will in the slightest, and they must be mentally prepared at all times to cope with all possible emergencies. Not having a concept of national defense will greatly affect national defense construction in normal times and anti-aggression wars in the future. Lenin, at the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, said: "Having started on our work of peaceful development we

shall exert every effort to continue it without interruption. At the same time, comrades, be vigilant, safeguard the defense potential of our country and strengthen our Red Army to the utmost." Under the premise of engaging in peaceful development, Lenin's decision to educate the people not to slacken their attitude of taking precautions was farsighted and showed a high degree of responsibility toward the interests of the state and the people. This is still of guiding significance to us today.

The strengthening of unity between the PLA, the civil authorities, the army and the people and the correct handling of relations between the army and its localities have an extremely important bearing on the construction and consolidation of national defense. The PLA is an army composed of the sons of the people and the relations between the army and people are inseparable as fish and water. If the army becomes separated from the people, it will not be able to move a single step. In the past, our people needed a powerful army for their own emancipation. After victory, they also needed a powerful army in order to keep their minds at rest for labor. For a long time, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the PLA not only developed close unity with the people but also created a series of correct principles and methods for handling the relations between the army and the locality. In recent years, for the sake of eliminating the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and especially the aftermath caused by the sabotage of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the army and the locality have carried out a great deal of work under the leadership of the party, and unity between the army and people has greatly strengthened.

In the battlefield on the self-defense counterattack operation against Vietnam, in the struggle to combat calamities and deal with emergencies, in urban as well as rural areas and in coastal as well as frontier defenses, stirring deeds of the army cherishing the people and the people supporting the army can be seen everywhere. Such patriotic advanced models in supporting the army as Zhao Chenni and Ma Yaozhi, who bravely accepted difficulties for the sake of army building and defending the motherland, have greatly inspired the cadres and fighters of the units. Such combat heroes as Yang Chaofen and Yan Long, who gave their young lives in defense of the frontier of the motherland, have filled the masses with a sense of incomparable pride. The army supporting the government and cherishing the people, the locality supporting the army dependents and the strong unity between the army and people have been a source of strength in the past and will still be a source of strength in the future. We must carefully treasure this kind of unity, use various practical actions to strengthen it and build a strong wall of steel which will strike fear into the hearts of the enemies and give the people peace of mind.

The war against aggression of the future will be a people's war under modern conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong's great thinking on people's war will still be an important magic weapon of ours for vanquishing the enemy. In the war of the future, the militia will still have a vital indispensable position as well as role. In carrying out better troops and simpler administration, the army should appropriately further strengthen militia work

and properly carry out the reserve service system and the mobilization system. If militia building is properly grasped, the army will have a strong backbone force and will be able to drown the invading enemy in the ocean of a people's war.

As early as in 1950, Comrade Mao Zedong said to the representatives of combat heroes and labor models of the whole country: "China must build a powerful national defense army and a powerful economic force. These are the two major things. The success of these two things depends on the comrades, together with all the commanders and fighters of the PLA as well as the workers, peasants and other people throughout the country uniting as one and working in cooperation." Today, if the army and people of the whole country mobilize themselves and bring their initiative and creativity into play under the leadership of the party, the grand task of developing the national economy, the task of strengthening national defense and various other tasks can all be successfully fulfilled.

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## CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND OUR COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

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[Article by Qi Wen [7871 2429]]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang systematically elaborated our country's independent foreign policy. The CPC Constitution adopted by the congress also expounded the fundamental stand of the CPC in international affairs. Consistently adhering to the five principles of peaceful coexistence, China will continue to develop its relations with foreign countries, unswervingly strengthen its unity with Third World countries, ally itself with all the forces that can be allied with and struggle to oppose imperialism, hegemony and colonialism, safeguard world peace and promote the progress and striving of mankind.

### I

For every country in the world today, the question of what foreign policy to carry out is of prime importance. Nearly 150 years ago, Marx and Engels pointed out, in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party": "Production and consumption in all countries have assumed cosmopolitan characteristics...in place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have comings and goings between all peoples and places and mutual interdependence on all sides. As in material, so also is the case in intellectual production." This quotation tells us how the world became a complete entity as soon as capitalism took shape and every country became, willingly or unwillingly, an inseparable part of this world. It was in this course of capitalism's expansion throughout the world that backward and feudal China was forced to open its door and be involved in the process of the whole world's development. This is a process which cannot be resisted and which can also be extraordinarily painful. From the mid-19th century onward, China deteriorated from being a great country with an ancient civilization into a semicolony.

For fully 109 years, from the Opium War to the founding of the PRC, China, through being forced to engage in intercourse with foreign countries and playing the role of being bullied, oppressed and trampled upon, had no independent foreign policy of its own. This long and miserable experience did not end until the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC,



defeated all agents of imperialism and founded the PRC in 1949. One of the most valuable achievements of the Chinese revolution was the recovery of China's national independence. The Chinese people, from being bullied and oppressed, now turned into a nation able to control its own destiny, take the initiative in pushing ahead with the world's development and make its own contributions to mankind. This really was an earth-shaking change.

It is not easy for an oppressed nation to recover its independence. It is not easy either to implement a completely independent foreign policy after recovering independence. Since imperialism and hegemony are still at large in the world and constantly exert pressure on those countries which have newly recovered independence, the implementation of an independent foreign policy is in itself a course of struggle.

## II

In his opening address given to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "While we Chinese people value our friendship and cooperation with other countries and peoples, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit harmful to China's interests." This is a concise summary of our country's foreign policy, which embodies the spirit of independence and sovereign rights.

Independence and sovereign rights are completely consistent with internationalism. As a socialist country led by the CPC, the PRC believes that all nations in the world will, sooner or later, take the socialist and communist path; that only through the ultimate liberation of mankind can the proletariat of every country attain its own liberation; and that only through the general development of the whole world can every nation attain its own goal. In the final analysis, the interests of all nations entirely coincide. We cherish our nation's interests, and respect other nations' interests as well. For this reason Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report: "Integration of patriotism with internationalism has always been our basic point of departure in handling our external relations."

As everyone knows, different classes have different points of view on "national interest." The difference between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism lies in the latter seeking only a nation's selfish interests while the former always considers a nation's own interests and mankind's interests as a whole. As their points of departure are different, their practices are naturally different.

In implementing bourgeois nationalist foreign policy there are two situations and two guiding principles. 1) In the situation of weak national power, if the nation does not depend on a certain powerful country or bloc, it thinks itself clever and plays the "card game" of international politics. The treacherous diplomacy of the rulers of old China was a shame, and the trick of "setting the barbarians against the barbarians" which they played was nothing more than a standing joke. 2) In the situation where a state

is strong, the bourgeois nationalists of the state can become chauvinist and expansionist, or even imperialist and hegemonist. As a result, they infringe upon other nations' interests, and in turn make their own nation the object of resentment and resistance in the eyes of other nations. Finally, they will be isolated in the world and thus bring disaster to their own nation. Many countries took this road in the past and some countries are still following this old road today.

Old China was for a long time a weak, enormous country. Accordingly, when our people won the victory of revolution, we summed up our own and other people's experience in these two situations, upheld our own stand which embodies the integration of patriotism and internationalism and persistently oppose bourgeois nationalism.

On the eve of the birth of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong declared, with dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit: "China must be independent and China must be liberated. The Chinese people want to handle China's affairs on their own and can tolerate no intervention by any imperialist country. ...No matter how the latter may continue to oppose the Chinese people, we Chinese people will always be able to find a way to win the final victory." Soon after the founding of the republic, Comrade Mao Zedong again taught us to "resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out great nation chauvinism." Later, in view of the harm brought to the people of the world by the superpowers' hegemonism, Comrade Mao Zedong declared again that we would never be a superpower and seek hegemony.

It is in the above two aspects that China's foreign policy, which is formulated under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has drawn a demarcation line between itself and bourgeois nationalism. At the First Session of the First National People's Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong also definitely pointed out: "Our general task is to unite the whole people and win the support of all our friends abroad in the struggle to build a great socialist country, defend world peace and advance the cause of human progress."

Here, he meant that we must try to obtain aid from others as well as provide aid for others and defend our national interests as well as fulfill our international obligations. In fact, in the last 30 years or more, we have successfully withstood all the pressure imposed on us by imperialism and hegemonism. In the Korean war and the Vietnam war, we also courageously made national sacrifices in the struggle to save world peace. As to other Third World countries which are engaged in the struggle for political and economic independence, we never hesitate to provide aid. Many examples are available to support our claim that we are by no means parochial nationalists but are, rather, unwavering internationalists.

Marxism-Leninism not only encompasses the proletariat's world outlook but also their struggle strategies and policies. Because we have always kept in mind the overall world situation when handling foreign relations, we have been able to, in the light of the basic situation of each historical stage, stipulate our struggling tasks for the specific stage, clearly analyze the

relationship between our enemies, our friends and ourselves, distinguish friends from enemies, major enemies from minor enemies, and direct allies from indirect allies, and thus correctly estimate our force in opposition to that of our enemies, and work out correct strategies to provide a concrete base for implementing foreign policy. Therefore, our foreign policy has shown a valuable steadfastness and continuity.

International affairs are extremely complicated. Some unexpected thing may emerge at any moment to bring about unexpected turmoil. Because of our scientific world outlook and a long-term strategy, we have been able to integrate our firm principles with feasible measures. We have been able to be free from the influence and control of chance occurrences, and we have never been dictated to or deceived by our momentary emotional reaction. As Lenin remarked, accommodating oneself to temporary situations means practicing opportunism. We have never practiced opportunism but have consistently advanced toward our goal.

In the light of the above-mentioned characteristics, we can say that we are implementing a completely and genuinely independent foreign policy. Our foreign policy enjoys a high prestige and has won for China an honorable image in the international arena.

### III

The five principles of "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence" have consistently guided China in its efforts to develop relations with all other countries in the world.

In April 1954, the newly independent China and India initiated these five principles in the "agreement concerning trade and transport between China's Xizang and India." In June of the same year, when Premier Zhou Enlai was visiting India, he and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru incorporated these principles in the Sino-Indian joint communique. These five principles show that we treasure our hard-won independence, respect other countries' independence and resolutely oppose aggression against the independence and sovereignty of all countries. The five principles also demonstrate correctly the position of a great majority of countries, particularly of the newly independent countries in the world of today. Precisely because of this, the ideas of the five principles have met with a wide response over the past 30 years. In many bilateral treaties and agreements, and in many international documents and manifestoes, similar wording to the five principles has been used to express the ideas of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. A good example can be seen in the 10 principles set forth in the final manifesto of the Afro-Asian conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955.

It can be said that today the five principles have found deep resonance in the hearts of the people of the world and have become a universal norm in

guiding relations between states. The norm of violence is often repudiated by public opinion. The five principles have already replaced the imperialist logic of "might is right" which ran rampant in international life before World War II. In the international life of today, if we say that due to the existence of hegemonism the five principles are still not able to be implemented thoroughly, we can say nevertheless that these principles have at least become a powerful force of morality and justice and have become undeniable legal principles in international law. This is an important progression in the international relations of the present age.

With regard to international relations in general, our five principles are suitable for all countries. Some people say Lenin advanced the principle of peaceful coexistence to guide relations between socialist countries and nonsocialist countries. For this reason, this principle is not applicable to the relations between socialist countries. In fact, at the time when Lenin proposed peaceful coexistence, there was only one socialist country in the world. However, historical experience gained since the emergence of other socialist countries in the world, shows that relations between socialist countries should also be built on the basis of the five principles. Of course, socialist countries enjoy similar social systems. In theory, they all take Marxism-Leninism as their common faith and, in practice, they take proletarian internationalism as their universal standard, so there should be more extensive cooperation and closer relationship between them. However, the prerequisite to such a relationship must be strict adherence to the five principles. Meanwhile, socialist countries must play an exemplary role in implementing the five principles. Just as Lenin said: "If the proletariat allows its nation to practice even the slightest violence against other nations, then it is not a socialist proletariat."

With respect to bilateral relations, our five principles do not repel any country. China is willing to establish and develop normal diplomatic relations with any country if it can follow the five principles not only in word but also in deed. Naturally, it is hard to avoid contradictions between countries. Precisely due to such contradictions, it is necessary to find reasonable solutions to them through application of the five principles so that relations between countries can continue to develop normally. As for those hegemonist countries which disregard China's sovereignty and attempt to force China to be subject to their interests, we cannot but wage a resolute struggle against them until they recognize that China's sovereignty brooks no violence and its security brooks no threat. Then, we will develop our normal relations with them on the basis of the five principles. But this must not, to the slightest degree, hamper our free initiative of opposing their policy of seeking hegemony over other countries. The course of carrying out the five principles is also the course of measuring strength against the hegemonists. Upholding peaceful coexistence and fighting against hegemony are two aspects of the same thing.

#### IV

What force in the world today is threatening the independence of various countries and world peace? First and foremost, it is the hegemonism pursued by the superpowers.

As is well known, through two world wars, particularly after the victory of the Chinese revolution, the old colonial system of imperialism fell apart with the independence of many colonial and semicolonial countries. But, its remnants are still to be found. In addition, the superpowers seeking hegemony have taken the place of the old imperialists, constituting a new menace to the peoples of all countries of the world. Each of them is now operating its war machine with enormous military expenditure on a scale unprecedented in peacetime in human history.

They are irreconcilably rivaling with each other in almost all regions of the world. They are interfering in other countries' internal affairs by every means possible, even resorting to military force. They are occupying the territory of other countries through their agents, or even directly dispatching their troops. Through their eyes, they see only their strategic interest and do not see the interests of other nations at all. After World War II, regional wars have not ceased on the earth. Until now there are still many "hot spots," such as the Soviet aggressive war in Afghanistan, Vietnam's aggressive war in Kampuchea, the war of the Israeli invaders against the Palestinian and Arab peoples and the war against African people in South Africa. All these wars were hatched up, supported and instigated by the superpowers, or they are taking part in them themselves. The rivalry between them has become a main source of turbulence and disturbance in the world today.

The Chinese people share a common wish with the people of all other countries in the world, a wish to build their own countries in peaceful world surroundings. In order to seek peace and progress and to build their countries, the people of the world have to fight against hegemonism in the face of the war menace of the superpowers seeking hegemony. To this end, our strategic principle in international affairs is to cement unity with the proletariat, the oppressed nations and people of the world and to unite all peace-loving and justice-upholding forces in the world in a joint effort to oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, safeguard world peace and promote human progress.

In the struggle to oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, the Third World is playing a very important role. This is because the countries of the Third World, including China, suffered the most cruel exploitation and oppression at the hands of imperialists and colonialists in history and today they are also the main victims of hegemonism. Therefore, they are the most staunch fighters in the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. The rise of the Third World is a major sign of the great changes in the world situation today. The number of people in the countries of the Third World constitutes three-quarters of the world's population. Divorced from the vast Third World, international justice and human progress

would be meaningless. More than 100 countries in the Third World spread to every corner of the world, covering over two-thirds of the earth's surface. They are the main force in the struggle against hegemonism because they can curb and tie up the major forces of the hegemonist superpowers and can foil their war schemes.

In accordance with Lenin's theory that imperialism divides nations in the world into the oppressors and the oppressed, and that the international proletariat must fight together with the oppressed nations, and in accordance with his call for unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations, we must attach importance to the unity of people of the various countries in the Third World.

Some people look down on the countries in the Third World because most of them today are comparatively backward in economy and weak in military strength. Such people also hold that the Third World can hardly play a big role in international affairs. But, if we look at this problem with an eye on the course of its development, we say such views are groundless. As a matter of fact, the Third World has become a gigantic progressive force in the world after the former colonies and semicolonies achieved independence one after another. It has changed and is still profoundly changing the look of the world. The situation in which only a few powers control the destiny of the world is gone forever. For years the United Nations was a place where the big powers were tampering with the voting machine. Now, it has turned into a place where all kinds of hegemonism are repudiated or are put on trial. In this world organization and on other international rostrums, many just resolutions are passed with the support or sponsorship of the Third World.

For example, the struggle launched by Latin American countries to oppose the superpowers' domination over oceans, and the struggle waged by oil export countries and other raw materials-producing countries for a sovereign right over their own natural resources have all achieved great success. Are all these not facts which many people could not imagine in the past and also cannot negate now? In opposing power politics and bloc politics, the nonaligned movement, which comprises many Third World countries, has dealt a heavy blow at the hegemonism of the superpowers. The movement for establishing a new international economic order is now, with the participation of many countries of the Third World, pounding at the present international economic order which is unequal and unfair. This is a movement of great strategic significance. Although there is no demand for forming a united front among countries of the Third World, nevertheless, they have identical views and take concerted action in the struggle. This has converged into a mighty torrent, giving an impetus to the development of international relations toward equality and democracy. The development of human history is complex and zigzags, but newly emerging things always conquer huge monsters which consider themselves unbettered in the world. Now we can see that the relatively poor Third World is precisely just such a promising new force.

Apart from wishing constantly strengthening unity with Third World and other countries, China also needs to unite with all forces which can be united with regardless of whether they are governmental or popular, as long as their struggle is helpful to the cause of opposing hegemony and safeguarding world peace.

As everyone knows, the PRC established diplomatic relations with many developed capitalist countries in Western and northern Europe just after its founding. We have maintained and developed good economic and cultural relations with these countries for many years. In the last 10 years, we established friendly relations with Japan and more Western countries. Generally speaking, these relations are beneficial to both sides and have already yielded positive results. We really value these relations and will continue to try our best to strengthen them on the basis of the five principles. To be sure, there exist contradictions between these developed capitalist countries and the Third World countries. However, the former are also facing war menace and suffering from the intervention, control and oppression exercised by the superpowers. Therefore, it is not only necessary but also possible for us to unite with them under certain conditions.

People all over the world are now carrying out peace campaigns of various types in the face of an increasingly serious menace of nuclear war. Although the composition of the members engaged in these campaigns, as well as their motives, are not completely identical, we always support them as long as they are really advantageous to the struggle to oppose hegemony and defend world peace.

We oppose the hegemonist moves and war policy of the superpowers. Nevertheless, we always cherish deep feelings toward the broad masses of the people of these countries, and try our best to intensify our friendly ties with them.

For a long time, we have emphasized the existence of a serious war threat. This is by no means alarmist talk but an inevitable trend which results from the scramble for hegemony between the superpowers. Many facts in the last 30-odd years since the end of World War II have shown that the superpowers have never stopped trying to launch a world war, only to be checked by the people's force time and time again. As long as the Third World countries and all peace-loving forces in the world can really unite together and are ready at all times to struggle resolutely against the plans of hegemonists, it is possible to continue to maintain a peaceful situation in the world.

As a socialist Third World country, China is dutybound to engage in this struggle. We will strive to preserve a peaceful international environment for the magnificent cause of socialist modernization of China, and make our contributions to the independence and security of the peoples of all countries and the progress of mankind.

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EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES MADE AT FORUM ON STUDYING THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS  
DOCUMENTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 29-36

[Text] Wang Meng [3769 5536]: "Raise the Ideological Level of Literary and Artistic Works and of Writers and Artists"

Both literature and art are extremely important parts of a lively civilization. By looking at literature and art, we are able to see the condition of the society itself, the extent of education and the level of culture. At the same time, literature and art influence both society and man's spiritual world.

Construction of a high degree of socialist civilization demands a great development of the causes of literature and art. Four years of practical experience amply illustrate that the correct policies and directives issued by the third plenary session of the party Central Committee guiding literary and artistic work, have established a fundamental insurance for the development of a new stage in literature and art in China.

Here I would like to bring up several important points:

1. We must raise the ideological level of artistic and literary works and offer the masses healthy and ever improving works of art and literature. The lofty ideals and great practical experience of communism have imbued into our art and literature a hopeful and ever onward struggling spiritual force, and it is this which is one of the fundamental characteristics of socialist literature. Despite the number of difficulties and obstacles to overcome, we will remain confident in the destiny of our people and the future of our homeland. Of course, we cannot simply shut our eyes at will to all the problems, suffering and pain which exist in our lives, and our art and literature should try to avoid contradictions and should not use falsities, exaggerations, etc. in an effort to deceive everyone. Similarly, we cannot turn a blind eye to the progress and victories in our lives nor the heroism and creative spirit of the people. We must make sure that we reflect freshness in life and communist values in practical day-to-day living. Of greater importance is to avoid writing about problems merely for the sake of creating problems, or writing about pain for the sake of pain. We must set out to overcome and destroy such pain and problems.

Thus, a piece of work which concentrates on the judgment of something awful should follow the judgment with awe-inspiring righteousness and be written in a scientific manner; it should not be a way of expressing one's own personal conceit or denying general pride and propagating feelings of despair. In describing villains, our aim is to enliven the readers' vigilance and alertness and rejection of such concepts and thus gradually allow everyone to become a little better and a little more likable and not the opposite. It is not difficult to rely on the tears of discontent and complaint to influence some naive readers. Such an attitude is both blind, cheap and irresponsible. Our literature and art should call on the spiritual strength of the people, on the ideals of communism and on the historical and social sense of responsibility of the people, thereby admonishing and denouncing the more mediocre and sordid who display cynicism, apathy and hopelessness. Every piece of writing and every work of art should display light and warmth, even only to an extent similar to that of a matchstick, so that when this light and warmth are added to that of other pieces of literature and art, the fused body will be much easier to see.

2. We must raise the taste and interest of both the writers, artists and the masses who read or appreciate literature and art. Taste is also an expression of spiritual civilization. A piece of literature or art must have taste, but there are different levels of taste. Since the onslaught of such distasteful pieces as "looking toward money" and "merchandization," there has been a fairly serious appearance in print and circulation of books of very low taste. Some publishing houses even publish works displaying feelings of despair, which are held in contempt by academics in the Western world. Some pieces of literature, under the guise of criticizing, actually make use of and peddle poor and low taste. Such things run counter to our tasks of building a socialist spiritual civilization. Artists and writers must not forget that our mission is to climb to the pinnacle of socialist spiritual civilization and, under the direction of communist ideology, we want to critically carry on and pass down the most outstanding riches and artistic treasures and show our disdain for cursory and quickly put together low-grade work, struggling to combat poor taste and to produce beautiful works of art and pieces of literature of the greatest historical level and of utmost richness and talent.

3. In constructing a socialist spiritual civilization, we must train and bring up many new members of the socialist society, and we must start with ourselves. Because of the very nature of literary and artistic work, it is sometimes very easy to become an overnight success and sometimes it is very easy for us to become self-conceited and self-satisfied as a result, thereby cutting ourselves off from the masses and feeling that we are not bound by the spheres of socialist morals and even adopt a supercilious attitude. This is extremely dangerous. In the past, people such as this and their behavior resulted in writers and artists in general dropping in the esteem of the masses, and sometimes even resulting in great disgust from frontline comrades. We cannot be too cautious about the appearance of such phenomena and must be always on our guard against it.

Wu Zuqiang [0702 4371 1730]: "Grasp the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization With the Same Vigor and Determination as in Grasping the Building of Material Civilization"

In the great announcement by the party Central Committee referred to as "all-round development of a new phase in socialist modernized construction," it was made very clear that our great task of constructing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization should take communist ideology as its central theme and the tactical significance of this in achieving socialist modernized construction. China's artists and writers, and those in the party, in particular carry a great responsibility toward the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. My metier is music and I feel that all those involved in music and composition should study hard the writings of the party and the government and consider in detail how best we can carry out our duties within the spheres of our work, thereby fulfilling our work responsibilities.

On the musical front, we are faced with some extremely hard tasks. We must continue our work to eradicate the negative results of the 10 years of social chaos and disorder and take care to prevent and overcome any ideological disarray in literature and musical bastardization which might arise from China's open door policy. We must correctly implement the literary policies of the party and overcome sways to the "left" and right which have appeared during many years of party policy implementation. Of even greater help is to initiate and activate among musicians enthusiasm for socialist construction and for the masses and strive to satisfy the multitude of musical demands of the masses, thereby continuously raising the level of musical enjoyment of the entire population. The completion of these few tasks all require our deepest study of and work on the contents of the 12th national congress report so that we may raise our consciousness and strive for the preservation of ideological and political harmony with the party.

The construction of material civilization requires planning, capital and the expenditure of energy. The construction of socialist spiritual civilization also requires us to carry out effective but arduous work; otherwise, the appeal will be in word only and not in deed. Here I have three points I would like to make:

1. We must strive to correct certain mistaken attitudes in the party, attitudes which have existed for a long period of time and over a wide spectrum and which lead to little attention being given to education in the sciences and arts and discrimination against intellectuals. Here the party Central Committee has done great work and has achieved significant results. But, to eliminate the influence of mistaken "leftist" ideology in this area, we must all unite in understanding and carrying out our work. Some people still feel that it is possible to create a spiritual civilization without culture and even go so far as to publicly propagate and spread such mistaken thinking. In the spirit of the 12th national congress, we must strengthen cultural development, implement the policies on intellectuals and recognize how this is closely related to the success or failure

of constructing a socialist spiritual civilization and thereby ensure that every policy and principle related to this cause is fully and effectively implemented.

2. The arts, including music, are an extremely important and significant part of spiritual civilization, which has its own idiosyncrasies. Hence, we should implement the policy of "letting one hundred flowers bloom, let one hundred schools of thought contend." In relation to this question, we already have ample experiences, both positive and negative and we should not again make the mistake of "leftist" and rightist swinging. The kind of arts we are advocating are socialist arts with communist ideology as the nucleus. We must trust in our art in order to be able to resist, with strength, the corrosion of the poisonous facets of bourgeois arts. We should, of course, remain alert to the erroneous belief of "freedom" of the bourgeois classes. But we should not prevent the active implementation of the "hundred flowers" policy for the sake of such relatively small risks.

3. We should increase by a relatively large amount of the proportion of funds allocated by the state for scientific and cultural education so that the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization may obtain the material support it requires. The serious problems of wastage within economic construction illustrate that such moves are by no means out of the question. We must, without a doubt, quickly increase the attention paid to "intellectual investments."

The party Central Committee has now officially announced two construction programs for civilization, and now we must tackle the building of spiritual civilization with the same vigor and determination as in tackling the building of material civilization. A high level of socialist spiritual civilization will automatically motivate further development in material civilization. If we can come to understand this dialectical methodology and strive to bring together the construction work for both these kinds of civilization, then we will be able to establish a new all-round phase for socialist modernized construction. Come, let us musicians join together with the masses throughout China, inspired by the spirit of the 12th national congress, and courageously march forward!

Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768]: "Build Socialist Literature With Communist Thinking as Its Core"

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "our educational work in the areas of science and culture is just getting onto the right track and is now developing considerably and now presents an admirable scene." This estimation is entirely in keeping with the present scene of Chinese literature and art.

In the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many leftist errors in the area of the art and literature dating back several years were put right. The party Central Committee considers literature and art as extremely important and thus carried out many close discussions with

writers and artists from the art world, proposing many excellent suggestions related to art and literature and thereby motivating the creative enthusiasm of young and old writers alike. At the time when the artistic and literary world produced such bourgeois mistakes as "freedom" of expression which totally went against the four basic principles of communism, the party Central Committee immediately called an ideological work symposium and after exhaustive guidance, finally came up with an accurate criticism by searching the facts for the truth of the matter. It was only because of the party's strict adherence to the struggle on two fronts that socialist art and literature were able to continue on the right track and show excellent initial progress.

In reviewing the last few years of development in socialist arts, we can come to realize with even greater clarity the necessity for writers and artists to preserve ideological and political unity with the party. Socialist arts are an important part of socialist spiritual civilization. Thus, our writers and artists should be the conscious builders of socialist spiritual civilization.

Cultural construction must be completely carried out under the guiding principles of the 12th national congress and must develop under the ideological guidance of communism. Our writers and artists must play activating roles in the construction of material civilization and thus raise the ideological consciousness and level of morality in the masses, gradually developing more and more members of the socialist society into morally and culturally aware workers with strict discipline who may contribute greatly to society. Writers should use their works as a fresh and encouraging new phase for the establishment of socialist modernized construction and not allow negatively directed works to depress the reader and poison the atmosphere. Of course, literature should still make use of the bad and evil things in life, but the purpose of using such things should be to castigate them so that readers may gain some enlightenment from reading such things and be encouraged to actively strive for improvement.

Writers who are members of the Communist Party should take the leading role here. And this thus necessarily demands of us that we first improve our knowledge and understanding, strengthen our party allegiance and strictly follow the direction and policies laid down by the 12th national congress and thereby become a leading part of the creation of a new phase in socialist literature and art.

China's modernized construction must be planned and carried out on the basis of China's actual and objective situation. Thus, our literary creators must also work in the realities of China's present situation. China's revolutionary literature has produced vast and valuable historical experiences and has thus established our own theoretical system. We must cherish the achievements we have gained after so many years of struggle and then pass on and develop our revolutionary tradition. We must remember the importance of studying and borrowing from overseas literature and related experiences but we must not duplicate word for word the style and format of foreign literature. We must remain alert and continue to resist the corrosive influence of degenerate and decadent foreign literature.

Socialist literature and art must adopt plentiful and lively means to express and propagate socialist spiritual civilization with communism as its nucleus, and yet should not be too sermon-like or obviously graphic. Writers and artists should involve themselves in the very heart of everyday life, mixing with the masses and jumping out of the restrictive circle of self-expression. This is the fundamental path to raising the ideological consciousness and artistic level of the writer and artist so that they may establish a new phase in socialist literature and art.

Chen Guangzhong [7115 0342 1813]: "Films Should Aim at Fostering the Good-heartedness of the People"

Youths are the driving force behind the establishment of a new period in time, and the cinema is a key to opening the window of their hearts. Recently, there have been investigations into the situation of youths and their ideological attitudes in the factories, with questionnaires for young people being handed out. In response to the question "What do you like doing most of all?" 98 percent of the young people responded by saying that they liked films most of all. It is clear that the cinema is one of the forms of art which can relate most intimately with the masses, and in the case of young people it is an extremely attractive concept. The cinema exerts a very subtle influence on youths, in terms of ideological enlightenment and the edification and fostering of morals and aspirations. China's cinema must propagate communism but it should not adopt methods of vacant preaching. Instead, it should make use of varied and rich forms of art, with a lively and active style, to educate the youth of today. And indeed, we have a saying: "Facts speak louder than words." Thus, the characteristic of newsreel films is the portrayal of upright real people and real events which allow the young people to actually see the qualities of communism in our everyday lives. The use of moving events and stories tells the viewer that communism is not a hollow promise but that it actually exists all around us today, that those people twinkling with the shining light of communist thinking are not gods but that they exist and live among us and are the models for us to emulate.

Our teaching should make the young people of today try to overcome their own shortcomings with enthusiasm, patience, discipline and sobriety. We must make sure that we light the fires of their ideology so that we may bring together the disordered and decentralized faculae of youth to create those powerful beams of light which work toward the development of China, creating enormous energy. Thus, in our penetration into everyday life we must broaden, enrich and multiply the themes we use, we must analyze people's hearts with greater thoroughness and, in particular, we must eulogize those new people and new ideologies which are establishing a new phase in time. With the party line, we must accurately reflect the contradictions which appear in this new era. The establishment and development of this new era will not come about through smiles, fresh flowers and merry expression, but requires arduous work and tortuous struggle. In life there is both beauty and ugliness, both light and darkness. As we show new men of communism through the exposure of contradictions, the youth who are watching will feel doubly close to them and will attain a sense of respect and a need to study and emulate.



Our studios recently finished a documentary called "The Glorious Call," which involves an evaluation of the facts of everyday life so that youth viewers would be able to discern that which is truly glorious and beautiful and where it may be sought. Young people love and respect beauty. Thus, this film uses the spirit of communism to move toward beauty, to seek out beauty and to create beauty! I, a humble pawn in the field of cinematic news reporting, offer with sincerity and ardor, this tribute of spiritual nourishment of everyone, in particular our younger friends.

Yu Shuzhen [0060 3219 3791]: "Actors Should Pay Attention to the Social Effects of Their Performances"

The party, in defining the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization as the battle line in the 12th national congress, has meant that every party member, every revolutionary must come to understand his or her own duties and responsibilities in creating this socialist spiritual civilization. I am both a Communist Party member and an actor and I am determined to work from the very bottom of my heart.

Actors serve the people through their own performing skills. A song or a dance should never be belittled, for merely by jumping onto a stage and performing it one can influence the entire audience. Thus, every actor and actress should think about the social effects of his or her acting.

Just after liberation and the founding of the PRC, the party mood and the feeling of society was extremely good. The 10 years of social disorder brought chaos to people's ways of thinking and also caused tremendous damage to the party mood and the general atmosphere in society, while the damage done to the spirit of the young people which had been built up until then, was extensive. Since the implementation of our open door foreign policy, some of our young people have fallen under the influence of unhealthy foreign music. Since the third plenary session and, more importantly, since the symposium concerning problems of ideological front lines, we have been fighting against the "freedom movement" of the bourgeois classes and resisting the corrosive effect of bourgeois thinking, with the result that the situation has improved somewhat. However, there are still a number of young people who are still very keen on this decadent music. I feel that we must actively educate and guide these young people and that there should be no compromise. In particular, there should be no pandering to bad taste merely for the sake of "box office value." In August of this year, our troupe visited a certain town for performances. Before our visit, there had been many performances of programs with very little artistic value. Consequently, we decided to perform pieces with healthy content and not in keeping with the tastes of a small minority. Thus, they did not enjoy the performance and began to make trouble. However, we had the support of the vast majority of the audience and thus the healthy trends prevailed over the evil ones. Later, we traveled to Shenzhen for a performance. Before we gave our performance, some people suggested that we sing and perform some popular songs from Hong Kong and Macao. This we did not do. Instead, we continued to perform our orthodox songs. There were no catcalls and no derisory laughter, and the effect was very good.



Afterward, many young people in the audience said that they had not realized that China had such good music as that! This clearly illustrates how the audience was able to distinguish between the beautiful and the ugly.

Young people represent the morning sun; they have high spirits and are able to accept new things very quickly. However, their world views have not yet solidified and become firm and thus they find it easy to imbibe advanced and progressive things as well as corrupt and backward things. As a performing artist who is also a party member, I want very much to make use of healthy, progressive and pure things to mold their moral character, nurture a healthy interest and steer them actively onward and upward in order to create a socialist spiritual civilization.

Actors and performers should not only take care of the social effects they are producing while on stage, they should also remember the social influence created by their own behavior in general. The party Central Committee announced that art should serve the people and socialism. Thus, we should think about the needs of the people and socialism. I am a singer of folk songs and on average, I receive about 10 letters a day, of which about 6 or 7 come from the countryside. These letters are of great help to me and they immediately make me think of those who have written them and the countryside where they live. Under the influence of "looking toward money" and its ideology, some people have disregarded the social influence and in seeking fame and fortune, have begun singing decadent songs. In doing so, they have transgressed the ideal that the arts should serve the people and socialism.

In his report to the 12th national congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: In the next 5 years, we want to see a fundamental turn for the better in the party and society's mood and atmosphere. In order to achieve this, everyone must work together with mutual cooperation and our performing artists must constantly remember their task and must begin from within themselves.

Jiang Kun [1203 2492]: "Bring Healthy Literature and Art to the People"

In the wake of the important tasks outlined at the 12th CPC National Congress for the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and as a young writer, I feel that the burden on me is by no means light!

Comic dialogue is a style of literature enjoyed by both men and women and young and old, suitable for both refined and popular tastes. One take lasts less than an hour and, by means of TV and radio, it is instantly transported into every household and every corner of the country. Because comic dialogue has these traits and advantages, our task and responsibilities are even greater. What should we bring the people? How can we help people relax after work and have the benefit of extremely interesting and arresting enjoyment? These are important questions for us comic dialogue writers and performers.

Comic dialogue is, by nature, very popular and widespread. Thus, we should try to improve the ideological and artistic value of the performances and

not simply perform comic gags in order to cater to the needs of a small minority with poor taste, nor simply to try to get cheap laughs. In recent years, audiences and critics have criticized some negative trends in our productions of comic dialogue and we should be aware of this.

The establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization demands that more and more literary and performing pieces be of a high level in terms of style and quality, and this spurs us on to search ceaselessly and more deeply for new creative material and themes. Here, one of the most recent examples was a great inspiration for us. During the 12th national congress, I and a Comrade Li Wenhua were making changes and improvements to a piece called "Time and Spring" written by an amateur writer. The effects of the performance exceeded our expectations. Why was this piece, which lacked comedy, received so well? The reason was because the piece explained that young people should cherish time and should not waste their youth or spring. Today, young people generally feel that there is never enough time to do everything, while older people also wish that youngsters would appreciate time more. Thus, this piece expressed all these feelings. After the performance of this piece, I asked myself what is it that we should propagate most at the moment, and what is it that we should write about most at the moment. I feel that the most fundamental thing is to make full use of the characteristics of comic dialogue to reflect the pulse of our times, to propagate communist ideology. The 12th national congress pointed out that the masses and the cadres must unite their strength and struggle for the glorious goals we must achieve before the end of this century. But some people still display a certain "vagueness and uncertainty about communism." Hence, we must rightly spread the word of communism so that people may come to truly understand it.

In order to propagate the most advanced ideology in the world, our performers of comic dialogue must be extremely strict with themselves. First, they must arm themselves with communist ideology and, at the same time, must constantly try to improve themselves artistically. Thus, they should ensure that they articulate with purity and do not allow filth and dirt to drift into their speeches, thereby creating linguistic pollution. They should avoid sarcasm and vulgar forms of presentation. Thus, in general they should give rein to the educational role of comic dialogue with a high degree of ideological and artistic authenticity, so that through their laughter the audience is molded to possess a high degree of moral values so that they may seek truth and beauty and despise and abhor ugliness and evil. Of course, this is easier said than done. But with study, refinement and endeavor we can undoubtedly raise the standards of comic dialogue.

Chen Haosu [7115 8504 5685]: "The Glorious Mission of the CYL"

The CYL has a glorious mission in the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization.

Communist ideology forms the nucleus of socialist spiritual civilization. The CYL is a school where the youth of China can learn the practical side of

communism. In historical terms, several generations of true communist fighters have always grown out of the ranks of the CYL, and among them are some of the glorious pioneers of China's communist movement. Some are the old generation of revolutionaries who, in the intervening years, have jumped to position of leadership of the country within the party and, of course, even more of them are frontline cadres and activists who fought in all the revolutionary struggles and socialist upsurges. Today, the CYL shows the way for China's youth to throw itself completely into the practical program for the four modernizations, to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as well as modern sciences and culture so that they may become a new generation of people full of ideals, morals, culture and discipline who may exert greater and greater influence in helping the party foster and nurture a new generation of communist fighters.

The CYL must play a penetrating and forceful role in the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization, and this role should include both the construction of culture and ideology. The CYL should earnestly support and promote the development of all cultural causes, such as education, the sciences, art and literature and sports, and should activate young people to delve into the realms of knowledge, encouraging them to study culture, science and technology. The CYL must organize and help young people to study on their own and achieve results. We should take note of the guiding words of Lenin, who said that one can only become a communist by using the entire treasure house of knowledge created by man to enrich one's own head.

The CYL is a well-developed youth organization carrying the flag of communism. For this reason, the CYL must preserve its communist purity. We must recognize that in some young people the poison of the Cultural Revolution's anarchy and out-and-out egoism has still not been flushed out and, in addition to this, some still suffer under the influence of foreign bourgeois thinking. In order to improve young people's strength to resist such things and to help them develop a communist world view, we must build a line of defense into their ideology. Thus, we must teach every CYL member to make demands on him or herself for the sake of the principles of communism and to absorb more and more young people within his or her sphere of action, getting them to join the communist ranks. In order to set up a communist world view and ways of thinking, we must ensure that young people study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These are the basic tasks of the CYL. This work should be integrated with the great efforts of the party, which is at the moment implementing policies to bring order out of chaos and to establish a great new era. Advances in the ideology of young people in recent years have been the results of the practical study of communism. The CYL should take a leading role in urging young people to developing such policies as "the five stresses and four beauties," "setting up a new mood" and "serving you," and in doing so, struggling toward a turn for the better in the social mood. Such activities are, in fact, an active and lively way of educating young people in ideology, morals and discipline and help to endlessly raise the level of their moral standards and elevate their revolutionary spirit with great vitality.

Today's youth are the future of the country. The CYL is the party's helper and reserve force. The glorious blueprints drawn up at the 12th national congress will become wonderful realities in the hands of this generation of youth, and one of the conditions which will decide whether the young people can carry such a great burden is whether the CYL is able to unite the young people to become a vast and mighty army of successors to communism. The cadres of the CYL believe that we will not let the party or the people down in their expectations and hopes for us and that we will arduously work to organize and construct a "school for studying communism through actual practice" which is worthy of its name so that we may develop a frontline force for the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization and achieve our glorious mission with even greater success.

Zhang Liqun [1728 2745 5028]: "In Fostering New Socialists, It Is Imperative That We Continue With Communist Education"

The establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization involves many things, and communist ideology is the very nucleus of it. The construction of a socialist spiritual education must be guided by communist ideology.

From the 60-odd years of practical party experience, we can see that whenever communist education is grasped, our work teams spring to life, the mood of the party flourishes and our causes develop and move forward. Whenever we slacken our grip on communist education, our causes stop their forward movement and even suffer setbacks. Whenever we think of the spirit of Yanan or the spirit of Nanniwan, it is heartening indeed, and these have become the symbol of the indomitable revolutionary spirit of the old generation of revolutionaries, embodying the arduous struggle and glorious tradition in the party's and the people's communist movement.

During the 10 years of social chaos, the wonderful tradition and revolutionary spirit of the party suffered terrible damage and the crazy fashions of "smashing, beating and looting" and the "spirit of rebellion" and their disastrous results have made us all very consciously aware of the fact that the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization ties in closely with the future of our party and our country as well as our general destiny.

In order to correctly carry out the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, we must first improve the party mood. The exemplary role of the party is extremely important. Similarly, we must tackle well the question of educating young people in the principles of communism. There are 390 million young people in China, making up two-fifths [as published] of the total population. Young people represent the country's aspirations and future, and the realms of their ideology and the quality of their culture decide the future of our country. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as well as the spirit of communism to educate and arm the young people of China so that they will resolutely carry high the banner of communism and give themselves totally to the communist cause. Lenin said: "We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth of today. We are the innovative party, and young people always want

to be ahead of others in terms of innovation. We are the party continuing the selfless struggle against the corrosive elements of the past, and it is young people who always want to throw themselves, first of all, into a selfless struggle." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 11, p 338) The young people of China possess a glorious revolutionary tradition and the young masses want to join the party in taking the broad road to communism. Nevertheless, we must remember that young people, having had their educational foundations smashed during the Cultural Revolution, can tend to veer in the wrong direction since their world views have not had a chance to fully develop and be consolidated. We must start by examining the realistic situation of young people in China, study their characteristics and seek the truth about them and develop the teaching of communist ideology so that they may throw themselves completely into the middle of the practical side of the communist movement.

The party has vast experience in teaching communist ideology to young people and such experience should be passed on and implemented. However, after the 10 years of social chaos, there were some changes in the objective state of young people in China and they took on some new characteristics. In the country's new era of opening up a new phase for the construction of socialist modernization, new situations and new problems are bound to arise. For example, the recently implemented open door policy has meant that while we import advanced science and technology and administrative and management experience from capitalist countries, some very poisonous and corrosive things from capitalism have also seeped in, and some young people who lack the ability to differentiate and resist cannot help but be influenced to various extents. Hence, we must, with lucid estimations, probe and promote healthy and mature rules and regulations for young people, making use of a wide variety of lively methods to guide them into accepting Marxism and becoming full-fledged communists.

When we carry out communist ideological education for our young people, we cannot simply rely on schools and the CYL. We must enlist the strength of the whole society and so organize a mighty and powerful army to construct a socialist spiritual civilization. Everyone, from all levels of the party and the government as well as every member of society and the front line, must bear the responsibility of educating the youth of China with communism. In this work, we must be aware of the characteristics of youth and we must guard against simplistic, crude and formalistic methods.

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## TAKE THE ROAD OF COORDINATED DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

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[Article by Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591]]

[Text] For many years, Heilongjiang Province has one-sidedly sought the development of heavy industry and neglected the development of agriculture and light industry. This has resulted in a serious imbalance in the proportionate relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and a prolonged state of backwardness in the production of consumer goods for daily use and in diversified operations in the rural areas. As early as 1962, Comrade Zhou Enlai took us to task for not having our own local industry and scolded us for not making full use of our advantages and for "begging for rice with a golden rice bowl." He was indeed speaking the truth, hitting the nail on the head. In the past, on various occasions we did try to lengthen these two "short legs" of light industry and diversified agricultural operations. However, because of the influence of "leftist" thinking and our imperfect understanding of the superior points of our province, we failed to grasp the opportunity. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have seriously implemented the Central Committee's eight-character policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading. We have attained a deeper understanding of the abundant resources and superior economic points of our province. Guided by the thought of treating the whole nation as a chessboard and commencing with bringing our superior points into full play, we began to pay attention to the development of the light and textile industries and diversified operations in the rural villages. This has brought about a relatively big change in the economic structure and we have begun to tread the new road of coordinated development of agriculture, industry and commerce. In our actual experience, we have come to realize that from the point of view of a province, if we want to implement the policy of readjusting the national economy properly, we must earnestly sum up the experiences and lessons of history and properly solve the following five issues in our guiding thought:

# 1. Gradually Establishing an Economic Structure Suitable to the Full Exploitation of the Superior Points of Our Province

In readjusting the proportionate relationships and establishing a rational economic structure, we cannot depend on subjective wishes but must consider how to make full and rational use of our region's superiority in resources and economic technology, and the objective needs for the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. What is the criterion of whether an economic structure is rational or not? This principally depends on whether or not the economic development can satisfy social needs and ensure the coordinated development of all the sectors of the national economy; on whether or not we have paid attention first to the actual conditions of our province and fully utilized its manpower, materials, financial power and natural resources and on whether or not we can vigorously promote scientific and technological progress and raise the labor productivity rate, so as to enable production to increase at a faster rate and achieve better results. In the past, we lacked a sufficient understanding of this point. Despite our many years' work in Heilongjiang, we have not yet acquired a real and comprehensive understanding of the province. We frequently paid special attention to its resources of coal, timber and crude oil for the development of heavy industry (which is correct) but scarce attention was given to the development of the abundant resources of the light and textile industries and the food industry. Moreover, over a long period of time we have been satisfied with our province serving as a raw materials base but seldom engaging in processing work of the primary grade, far less in more intensive types of processing. We even went so far as to forsake our superior points in preference to our weak ones and devoted much strength to the development of small iron and steel industries despite the lack of iron ore resources in our province. As a result, we paid a heavy price but achieved poor results.

Finally, through summing up the experiences and lessons gained, we began a provincewide large-scale economic investigation and acquired a more intensive knowledge of the superior points of our province. The guiding thought of economic readjustment became clear in our minds and we no longer indulged in such foolishness as giving up our strong points and using our weaknesses. We decided to bring into full play the superior points of 12 categories of resources, these being grain, beans, sugar, milk, potatoes, hemp, fur, silk, chemicals, leather, timber, and reeds. We placed great stress on the development of the light and textile industries and gave them first priority in the provision of funds, energy, materials and technology. At the same time, we decided that with regard to heavy industry, the structure of its products should be readjusted, the direction of its service reoriented, and the relative weight of its service to light industry and to agriculture continuously expanded. On the side of agriculture, we decided that on top of grasping well grain production, we would actively develop economic crops and diversified operations and promote the overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. In the course of readjustment, we strove vigorously to make full use of our strong points, avoided our weak points and brought into full play all the superior points of our province being rich in resources and possessing



a relatively firm industrial foundation, a fairly strong technology, a flourishing communications system, and extensive markets. Our objectives were to build our province into the following sorts of base area: a modernized agricultural base concentrating on production of commodity grain, and including the overall development of economic crops and diversified operations; a light industry base having the food and textile industries as its focal points of development; and a forestry base featuring afforestation and placing the focal point on the comprehensive utilization of timber. In addition, we plan to develop our province into a base for energy with emphasis on the output of coal and crude oil, and into a heavy industrial base with emphasis on the machine-building industry and the building materials industry. We thus proposed to build up a new-style economic structure featuring the coordinated development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

Under the guidance of the above thinking, and following 3 years of concentrated effort, we have achieved relatively good results in the readjustment of the economic structure. The following are the results, comparing the 3 years previous to, with the 3 years after, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee: The average annual grain output increased from 24.9 billion jin to 27.8 billion jin, and in the latter 3 years, the gross output value of agriculture increased yearly at an average of around 9 percent. In the gross output value of agriculture, the relative weight of economic crops grew from 9 percent to 15.4 percent, while that of diversified operations increased from 20.2 percent to 24.4 percent. As for industrial production, a number of small iron and steel plants and chemical fertilizer plants were closed and the internal structure of industry was readjusted. Light industry has enjoyed a rapid development every year: an increase of 16.3 percent in 1980 over 1979; and an increase of 13.6 percent in 1981 over 1980. A relatively big change was effected in the proportionate relationship between light industry and heavy industry. The proportion occupied by light industry in the gross output value of industry rose from 26.3 percent in 1978 to 36.8 percent last year. The entire economy has attained new vitality, laying strong foundations for further readjustment.

## 2. Implementing Comprehensive Readjustment of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce and Stressing the Production of Consumer Goods

Our readjustment work aims at solving the problem of the imbalance in proportionate relationship in accordance with the Marxist reproduction theory, and the regulations governing the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, to enable the various departments of the national economy to promote each other and not to become mutually disjointed. Hence, we feel that to do a good job of readjustment, first of all we must think along the lines of effecting a comprehensive readjustment. In other words, we should not confine ourselves to readjusting the individual enterprises themselves or to readjusting agriculture and industry separately. Rather, we should carry out, on a provincewide basis and according to step by step plans, a comprehensive readjustment of agriculture, industry and commerce.

When the eight-character policy was first adopted, in order to strengthen light industry, we grasped the problem of the raw materials for agricultural and sideline products as a focal point of work. After more than a year, the main contradiction was changed and the problem became one concerning a serious lack of processing capacity in the light, textile and food industries. This made us realize that if we isolatedly readjusted a certain area or link in the production process, the chances would be that we might attend to one thing and lose sight of another and that once we solved an old imbalance, a new imbalance might appear. In this way, it would be difficult to ensure coordinated economic development. In order to solve this problem, we grasped the central link in the production of consumer goods and decided on the focal development of some 10 trades and products including sugar refining, textiles, food products and the comprehensive use of timber. At the same time, we combined together the work of readjusting the industries and reforming the economic structure. In order to break through the departmental boundary limits and facilitate the development of focal-point products, we have set up over 10 small specialized leadership groups of which 9 are concerned with the production of consumer goods. The various groups are under the charge of committee secretaries, standing committee members and provincial vice governors, with each heading one or two of these small groups. They worked hard on each industry and product and tightly grasped the different stages ranging from processing of the raw materials to passing through the circulation channels. They did their work thoroughly and achieved fairly good results. For example, sugar production increased from 145,000 tons in 1978 to 344,000 tons in 1981; confectionery production from 15,000 tons to 27,000 tons; output of milk products from 10,400 tons to 18,000 tons; and the number of spindles in the textile industry increased from 340,000 in 1978 to about 500,000 in 1981. The comprehensive utilization rate of timber's "3 leftovers" (namely, leftovers from tree felling, processing and product-making) reached 27.7 percent, the output capacity of artificial fiber boards using the "3 leftovers" as raw materials amounted to 360,000 cubic meters, and the gross value of its output was over 500 million yuan. Meantime, in order to develop the light and textile industries, it was necessary to expand their production capacity and to undertake the needed technical rebuilding. This gave new tasks to such heavy industry departments as the machine-building industry and others and made them reorient their direction of services and readjust the structure of their products. The healthy development of heavy industry was thus promoted. In this way, if the 10 or more specialized small groups, which take consumer goods as their focal point, continue to tightly grasp their work in accordance with plan, then it may be estimated that by 1985, the economic structure of Heilongjiang Province will have become rational and a new appearance will emerge in the situation.

Following the development of the light and textile industries, the demand for raw materials has sharply increased. This, in turn, promoted readjustment of the agricultural structure and development of economic crops and diversified operations. We plan that under the conditions of a steady increase in grain output, we shall basically change the agricultural structure from its unitary, subsistence type and gradually attain the objective of making the output value of grain, economic crops and diversified operation

constitute one-third each of the gross output value of agriculture. Thus, we shall put Heilongjiang on the road to modernized large-scale production which calls for little investment but achieves handsome results and a high commodity production rate. At the same time, we shall bring into full play the role of agricultural mechanization and in this way liberate a large agricultural labor force for the further development of enterprises in the communes and production brigades as well as the processing industry for agricultural and sideline products. We shall thus endeavor to achieve the coordination between industry and agriculture and between the urban and rural areas. This is a road which we must traverse in order to make the rural villages truly prosperous. Indeed, it appears impossible that the rural villages will become truly prosperous if we confine ourselves only to grain production without developing economic crops and diversified operation. It will also be impossible if we endeavor to develop only agriculture without developing the processing industry.

Development of agricultural production will bring in its wake higher demands on the commodity circulation channels. This is to say, the circulation channels must be widened, the number of turnover points or stoppages must be reduced, the work style in business must be improved, and commodity circulation must be facilitated. In this way, we shall gradually form a "one dragon" system whereby purchasing, processing and marketing are linked together. This "dragon" will find its way not only into the whole province and whole country but also into the world market. Persistently grasping our work in this way will transform the economy of our country into a chain of interlocking stratagems of coordinated development of agriculture, industry and commerce whereby industry will promote agriculture, agriculture will lead industry, light industry will promote heavy industry, heavy industry will lead light industry, production will promote circulation and circulation will lead production. The whole economy will thus embark on the road to healthy development.

This "chain of interlocking stratagems" of coordination of agriculture, industry and commerce will also promote changes in the ownership system and the labor employment structure. Over the past few years, based on the great development of socialist collective economy, in the cities, municipalities and market towns in our province, the individual handicraft industry and repair trades have achieved a certain degree of development. The number of establishments engaged in collective and individual commerce, restaurant trade and repair trades increased from 33,000 units in 1979 to 107,000 units last year, an increase of 220 percent. This speed of development has not been seen in the past 30 years. These commercial units and service trades provided employment to some 800,000 people of whom 340,000 were young people awaiting employment. If we press forward along this road of the "chain of interlocking stratagems," the ultimate trend of development will be unification of agriculture, industry and commerce embracing the coordinated development of the urban and rural areas, of industry and agriculture and of the counties, communes and production brigades. To conform to the development of this situation, we still need to strive hard to do a good job of the construction of small cities and towns.

### 3. Making Use of the Superiority of the Machine-Building Industry To Mend the Insufficient Processing Capacity of Agricultural and Sideline Products

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the rural policy adopted has been welcomed by the populace. Development of economic crops and diversified operation has been rapid. A large quantity of raw materials has been provided for the light industry. Some of the light industrial plants which used to struggle for raw materials now have an ample supply and have to dispose of, or sell, their raw materials in stock. In fact, in some cases, stockpiling of large quantities of raw materials has actually occurred. Because of the overabundance of sugar beet, the existing sugar refineries had to extend their sugar-pressing period and overloaded their machinery with work. The output volume of hemp was excessive, and the only thing to be done was to export it. Due to the weak processing capacity of milk products and their irrational geographical distribution, there was much wastage of fresh milk once the busy purchasing season was over. Large quantities of edible oils have to be stockpiled owing to the shortage of processing facilities. A situation of this kind on the agricultural front indicates that there is an urgent need to raise the processing capacity for agricultural and sideline products.

How shall we solve the problem of insufficient processing capacity for the light and textile industries and the food industry? We have depended mainly on utilization of the existing strength of the machine-building industry and on bringing the superiority of the machine-building industry into full play. In our planning, we closely linked the development of the light and textile industries with the readjustment of the machine-building industry and, in a planned manner and systematically, organized the machine-building industry to serve the development of light industry in our province and to produce whole-set equipment for the processing of agricultural and sideline products. Within the machine-building industry, a rational system of division of work has been effected, production of specific products and the direction of service have both been fixed. Thus, some products were intended for the comprehensive utilization of timber, some to serve the light and textile industries in tapping their potentials, in restructuring and in rebuilding, while some were to serve the sugar refining and food industries. At the same time, full utilization was made of the foundation of existing light industry enterprises to continuously develop processing work to a more intensive degree and, through the comprehensive utilization of industry, form a package of interlocking strategies for the processing of raw materials, preliminary grade products and final grade products. As a result, the machine-building industry came to life, the processing industry developed and development of agriculture was promoted. In 1981, the value of the products of the machine-building industry serving light industry increased by 14 percent over 1978 and the downturn in production of the machine-building industry became an upturn.

### 4. Speeding Up the Raising of Economic Effect

The 10 economic construction guidelines given up by Comrade Zhao Ziyang at the 4th Session of the 5th NPC had as their central point the improving of

economic effect. He clearly pointed out: "Our country's national economy must traverse a new road at a relatively dependable speed, with relatively good economic effect and more real benefits to the populace." It is a valuable experience gained after having paid a very high price. It is the starting point of performing further a good job of economic readjustment and is particularly applicable to our province. Our province has plentiful natural resources, a fairly good industrial foundation and has made rather large contributions to the state in various economic sectors such as coal, timber and oil. However, generally speaking, our economic effect is rather poor. At present, our economic targets are not only lower than the national average but also lower than our relatively higher historical level. In order to change this contradiction of high superiority on one side but low economic effect on the other, what is most important is to effect a fundamental change in ideology and to avoid making high targets and giving blind directions. Indeed, we must refrain from such foolishness as undertaking high sounding projects which ultimately produce no actual results. We must combine proportion, speed and effect together, grasp speed with an eye to the economic effect and make speed abide by effect. We must pay attention to improving the economic effect in the enterprises and, more importantly, to improving the overall economic effect in the structure as a whole.

Over the past few years, what we did was to start with restructuring the irrational economic structure and then proceeded from various directions to improve the overall effect on the economy as a whole. 1) Aiming at satisfying social demand, we strengthened planned production and vigorously developed those consumer goods of daily use which belonged to the so-called "short-line" and urgently needed category of goods but which possessed the necessary conditions for increasing production. These goods included sewing machines, bicycles, wooden clocks, confectionery, beer, cigarettes, and so on. The objective was to make them marketable. 2) Taking the original light industry enterprises as the base, the potentials of current enterprises were fully tapped. In the case of light industry "combination" and "joint operation" of the enterprises were carried out, whereas in the case of the machine-building industry the governing theme was to place emphasis on "both heavy industry and light industry" and on "both products for military use and products for civilian use." Adhering to the principles of economic rationalization and specialized coordination, we organized the heavy and light industries to carry out technical rebuilding and development of their famous brand products and to enlarge the production quotas of the focal products of light industry. In the establishment of new enterprises, priority was given to those projects which involved little capital outlay, could reap quick results and could attain large benefits. We followed the theme of combination of big, medium and small projects but refrained from undertaking any more the wasteful "small, native and common" projects. In the case of certain modern projects which one single enterprise could not handle, joint operation with other enterprises, or with the state or collective, was advocated. We carried out well the job of achieving overall balance and stopped the practices of "blind construction" and duplicate construction. As for enterprises of an irrational structural composition, gradual readjustment was made while in the case of those enterprises whose products were of a poor quality and not marketable and which involved a

high consumption rate of raw materials and energy in production, and which achieved low economic results and generally were lacking in competitive power, we took firm steps to close, or merge, or shift them to other lines of production or trades. 3) Concurrent with the expansion of the processing capacity of the light and textile industries, we tightly grasped the technical rebuilding of the older enterprises and performed a good job of improving the quality of existing products or replacing them with new and better products. The poor and low quality of the benefits derived from our industry was attributable not only to the imbalance in proportionate relationship but also to the low technical level of the enterprises and the poor quality of their products. Why is it that certain products of light industry are stagnant in sales, or are stockpiled in the warehouses, or are unable to be sold outside the province or are incapable of entering into the world market? The reason is not that there is no market demand for them but mainly that the structure of the products is not rational, their quality is poor and they generally lack competitive power. The aluminum alloy bicycles with the brand name "Flying Dragon" which are made in our province have received general acclaim and the loudspeakers produced in Zhaodong County have been enjoying flourishing sales throughout the country all because of the products being new and relatively good in quality. We deeply feel that concurrent with the readjustment of the proportionate relationship between light industry and heavy industry, we should readjust the technological structure, coordinate the efforts to increase production capacity with the efforts to raise the technological level, heavily strengthen the technological strength of industry, actively promote the development of new products, speed up the improvement and replacement of old products and transform the backward countenance over sized and ugly products. Only in this way can the economic effect be raised. 4) We firmly grasped management and control, strengthened the weak links in the circulation channels, further readjusted the relationship between industrial merchants, agricultural merchants and commercial merchants, opened up markets and oriented ourselves toward service to the whole country and the international markets. We believe that only in this way can we open up financial resources, accelerate capital turnover and achieve better economic results. We have learned from actual practice that increasing speed is easy but raising the effect is difficult and that stressing speed alone may easily make us forget about effect. Naturally, stressing effect does not mean that speed is not needed, since speed and effect are united.

##### 5. Taking a Nationwide View of Bringing Our Province's Superiority Into Full Play

Following the continuous progress in readjusting the national economy, we have increasingly felt that from the standpoint of a single province it is extremely important to foster the ideology of treating the whole country as one chessboard. This is in fact ordained by the very nature of this big united socialist country of ours. Furthermore, we have brought forth the policy of "minding the whole situation, sharing difficulties, bringing one's superiority into full play, and making the utmost contributions." Politically, we maintain solidarity with the party Central Committee. Economically, we are subservient to the centralized and united directions of



the State Council. The country as a whole represents the overall situation of which a province is a part. A part should follow the whole and the theme "suiting measures to local conditions" should be altered to "suiting measures to national conditions." In the past, we have made contributions to socialist construction. Now we must still keep the whole situation in mind and make even more contributions. In the course of readjustment, we must ensure fulfillment of the national plan, particularly fulfillment of the tasks related to the focal products such as grain, coal, crude oil, timber, electric machines, and so on. The quantities of raw materials and products we should deliver must be so delivered. Under the logical premise of relatively stabilizing the sowing area for grain, we should principally depend on raising the per-unit yield and developing economic crops and diversified operation. At the same time, we should sum up the lessons from history and under the logical premise of ensuring the whole interests of the state, we should pay attention to the economic interests of this province, make full use of our strong points but avoid our weak points, fully utilize our superiority in natural resources and promote the development of light and textile industries and the food industry. After having fulfilled the assigned delivery tasks of our products and resources, all the raw materials for our light industry which can be processed locally should first of all be processed locally. This is a comparatively better method, and is advantageous to both our province and the state. In bringing our superiority in resources into full play, attention should be jointly given to demand and feasibility. Due to our limited funds and technological strength, concerning those raw materials and primary-grade products which, due to our limited funds and technological strength we lack the necessary conditions to fully utilize at the moment, either let the state ship them out on a unified basis, or let our brother provinces and municipalities join with us in handling them on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. We heartily welcome our brother provinces and municipalities possessing the necessary technology and capital but lacking the necessary resources to cooperate with us in organizing joint operation enterprises in such sectors as the food industry, light and textile industries, timber and its comprehensive utilization, and so on. Let us in this way further develop this treasure house of Heilongjiang.

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## HOW TO STUDY THE SIXTH PART OF THE REPORT TO THE 12TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS

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[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Office for Theoretical Education; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] This part of the report deals with the task of building our party and making it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization as required by the new party constitution. It begins with an explanation of the general principle guiding the revision of the party constitution and the main points of the draft. It then goes on to expound the following four tasks which we must concentrate on in tackling party building:

First, improve the party's system of democratic centralism and further normalize inner-party political life.

Second, reform the leading bodies and the cadre system and ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent.

Third, strengthen the party's work among the workers, peasants and intellectuals and establish close ties between the party and the masses.

Fourth, consolidate the party organizations step by step in a planned way so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party.

Lastly, it gives the whole report a summing-up.

In studying this part of the report, we can divide the beginning, the four tasks and the summing-up into six main points. We can then refer to relevant documents and materials to better understand the substance and essential spirit of these main points and concentrate on studying how to do a better job of party building in accordance with the requirements of the party Central Committee.

/In studying the beginning of this part, it is possible to achieve a better understanding by attaching importance to the following: First, better understand the general principle guiding the revision of the party

constitution in the light of the characteristics and needs of the new historical period. Second, find out by means of comparison and contrast to what extent the new party constitution has discarded the "left" errors in the constitution adopted by the 11th congress and carried forward the merits of the party constitutions passed respectively by the 7th and 8th congresses. Third, better understand the significance and main points of the revisions of the party constitution./

The report pointed out that the general principle guiding the revision of the party constitution is to set more exacting demands on party members, enhance the fighting capacity of the party organizations and uphold and improve party leadership in conformity with the characteristics and needs of the new historical period. In essence, conformity with the characteristics and needs of the new historical period chiefly means:

1) Our party is a political party in power and occupies a leading position in the life of the state. This position as a political party in power makes it easy for our comrades to be tainted with bureaucratic habits and to become arrogant and conceited. The danger of divorcing oneself from reality and from the masses has increased rather than diminished. Hence our party is confronted with new tests and must set more exacting demands on party organizations and party members. This problem was discussed at great length in the report of the eighth party congress on the revision of the party constitution but was not followed up earnestly. This time, on the basis of summing up positive and negative experiences, the 12th party congress took our party's position as a political party in power into full account and set forth stricter requirements for party building. These demands are all embodied in the new party constitution.

2) In line with its position as a political party in power, our party must maintain sound political life and better adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership. Inner-party political life started to become abnormal in the late 1950's. During the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," in particular, the party's principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership were seriously undermined. It is precisely on the basis of summing up experience and lessons in this regard and in conformity with the need to set things right that the 12th party congress included a series of stipulations to this end in the party constitution.

3) The new historical period requires our party to shift the focus of its work to leading the cause of socialist modernization and build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization while working for a high level of material civilization. It requires us to develop socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system. It also requires us to ensure that the ranks of our party's cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. It is precisely in conformity with these requirements that the 12th party congress adopted clear-cut stipulations in the party constitution.

4) Our party style was seriously damaged during the 10 years of domestic turmoil. Thus, one of our important tasks for the immediate future is to effect a fundamental turn for the better in our party style. It is precisely in conformity with this requirement that the 12th party congress adopted appropriate stipulations in the party constitution regarding the activities of party organizations and the qualifications of party members.

In other words, our party's position as a political party in power, the responsibilities entrusted to our party by history and the present state of our party style all place higher demands on party building in the new historical period. In the course of our study, we must analyze existing problems in our party in the light of the four points discussed above in order to acquire a better understanding of the general principle guiding the revision of the party constitution.

On the basis of summing up experience in party building over the years, the new party constitution has made many changes in the constitution adopted by the 11th party congress. It has discarded the "left" errors in that constitution and carried forward and developed the merits of the constitutions passed respectively by the 7th and 8th party congresses. Thus, it suits the characteristics of the new historical period and the needs arising from actual party life.

The constitution adopted by the 11th party congress emphasized the need to uphold "the basic line of the socialist period" and the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and totally affirmed the "Great Cultural Revolution." It set forth the need to "carry out many more great cultural revolutions," the need to expel "unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road" from the party, and so on. All these are "left" errors carried over from the constitutions passed respectively by the 9th and 10th party congresses. These errors were systematically sorted out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and should of course be discarded in the new party constitution.

The constitutions passed respectively by the seventh and eighth party congresses were drawn up under situations in which the party's guiding ideology was relatively correct and inner-party political life was relatively normal. Therefore, their provisions on various aspects were more scientific and practical. Take the party's general task for example. On the basis of an analysis of China's national condition, the constitution passed by the eighth party congress stated that the task of the party was to lead the cause of socialist modernization and that the fundamental objective of our party in all its work was to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people. With a view to strengthening party building, carrying forward the fine traditions of our party and enhancing the fighting capacity of our party, the constitutions passed respectively by the seventh and eighth party congresses both expounded in their "general program" the importance of maintaining party unity, following the mass line, develop criticism and self-criticism, adhering to democratic centralism and wholeheartedly serving the people. As far as the party's principle of democratic centralism, the

obligations and rights of party members, the relationship between the party and the CYL, etc., were concerned, the provisions in the constitutions passed respectively by the seventh and eighth congresses were more detailed and clear-cut. These good points have been carried forward and further developed in the new party constitution. For this reason, the new party constitution is an improvement on all the previous constitutions and is fuller in content.

To begin with, the new party constitution has a "general program" which is more substantial in content. It gives us a more comprehensive and scientific outline of the party's character and guiding ideology, its long-term and immediate objectives, its basic requirements for party members and party organizations and the basic principle of how the party should correctly play its leading role. The main content of the revision of the party constitution can be summarized in the following three major aspects: First, it sets more exacting demands on party members, party cadres and grassroots organizations than those in all our previous constitutions and adds a new chapter on party cadres which expects more from them than from ordinary party members. Second, it lays down more systematic and all-round provisions for the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership as practiced by the party and emphasizes in particular that all major issues must be decided upon by party committees after democratic discussions and that all forms of personality cult must be forbidden. It also stipulates stricter provisions for party discipline. Third, it makes many new provisions for improving the systems of the central and local organizations, tightening party discipline, reinforcing discipline inspection organs and strengthening grassroots party organizations.

These changes in the party constitution have been made so we can strengthen and improve party leadership and build our party into a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization in the new historical period. Provided that the whole party acts strictly in accordance with the requirements of the new party constitution, there will be a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party, its fighting capacity will be enhanced, its prestige will rise and it will be able to preserve the purity of communism and never degenerate.

/In studying the first task, we must fully understand the significance of improving the system of democratic centralism in the whole party and normalizing inner-party political life on the basis of the integration of theory and practice. We must also make clear the relationship between tightening party discipline and improving the functioning of democratic centralism./

Democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of the party and requires that we practice a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. It reflects the relationship between the party and those led by the party, between higher party organizations and lower organizations, between individual party members and the whole party, between central and local organizations on the one hand and the masses of party members on the other. Without a high degree of democracy as our

foundation, we will never be able to achieve correct centralism and will develop patriarchal ways of one person deciding matters arbitrarily. Without a high degree of centralism, we will never be able to achieve true democracy and will end up in a state of excessive democratization and anarchy inside the party. Thus, in order to ensure a high degree of centralism and unity within the party on ideological and political matters and ensure the normalization of inner-party political life, it is necessary to improve the functioning of democratic centralism in the whole party. In carrying out democratic centralism, it is necessary to properly handle the relationship between higher and lower levels and between collective leadership and individual responsibility. From history, we can see that rightist and "leftist" mistakes usually had something to do with our failure to correctly handle these two relationships. In the period from its founding to the early years after the establishment of the PRC, our party implemented the principles of democratic centralism relatively well and inner-party political life was fairly vigorous and lively. This was essentially because we did a relatively good job of handling these two relationships. The report of the eighth party congress on the revision of the party constitution emphasized in particular the importance of properly handling the relationship between higher and lower levels, upholding the principle of collective leadership and opposing the personality cult. After the congress, the personality cult gradually appeared and developed and major issues were no longer decided upon after holding collective discussion according to the principle of democratic centralism. Usually an individual or a few people had the final say. Patriarchal practices of "what I say goes" and placing oneself above the organization developed constantly. Political life in the party and state, particularly in the Central Committee, grew more and more abnormal, leading eventually to the decade of domestic turmoil. We should always bear in mind this lesson of history about how the wrecking of the system of democratic centralism brought great harm to the party and the people.

On the basis of summing up historical experience, our party has, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, laid great emphasis on the need to uphold democratic centralism. As a result, political life in the party, and first of all in the Central Committee, has gradually returned to the correct path, the path of Marxism. There has also been marked improvement in the political life of many local party organizations. This is one of the basic reasons why our party has been able to formulate correct principles and policies and make important achievements in various undertakings in recent years. However, there are still many party organizations which have not done a good job in implementing the principle of democratic centralism. On the one hand, undemocratic practices and patriarchal ways have still not been eradicated. On the other hand, cases of decentralism and liberalism exist to a serious extent. In order to enhance the fighting capacity of the party, we must conduct thoroughgoing education on democratic centralism in accordance with the requirements of the new party constitution and get rid of these unhealthy phenomena.

Strict discipline is an important guarantee for improving the functioning of democratic centralism in the whole party and normalizing inner-party

political life. The basic principle of democratic centralism is: individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher ones, and all the constituent organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the party. Every organization and member of the party must resolutely adhere to this basic principle. No one is allowed to go his own way and carry out only those principles, policies and decisions which are to his liking. Otherwise, the party will not be able to achieve the unity of will, acquire fighting capacity and fulfill its tasks. Not only will stressing the need for strict party discipline not hamper the development of inner-party democracy but is an important prerequisite for ensuring the normal democratic life of the party. The new party constitution explicitly stipulates that violations and expropriations of the democratic rights of party members and organizations will not be tolerated by party discipline. Owing to the decade of domestic turmoil and the damage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, cases in which discipline has slackened, right and wrong are confused and rewards and punishments are misused can still be found to a fairly serious extent in quite a number of party organizations. This is an important expression of the unhealthy style of the party and is an important reason why the party has been unable to play its role properly. It is precisely for this reason that the report emphatically pointed out that party organizations at all levels must be mobilized to fight resolutely to uphold party discipline. In order to strictly enforce party discipline, the new party constitution devotes two chapters to party discipline and organs for discipline inspection and sets forth clear-cut provisions in both. In studying this problem, we must integrate the study of the new party constitution with actual practice and overcome erroneous tendencies in the functioning of democratic centralism and the enforcement of party discipline.

/In studying the second task, it is necessary to lay stress on gaining a clear idea of two things: 1) The significance of reforming the leading bodies and the importance of resolving the division of labor between party and government. 2) Why it is necessary to reform the cadre system and ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent./

In the final analysis, the reform of the system of leadership and the leading organs of the party and state is demanded by the cause of socialist modernization. The modernization program requires the service of leading bodies which are compact but vigorous, highly efficient and free from bureaucratic practices and which have clear-cut job responsibility. However, defects such as organizational overlapping, lack of clear-cut job responsibility, overstaffing, failure to separate party work from government work, "aging" of the team, and serious instances of bureaucracy are still found in our leading bodies. All this is not in keeping with the requirements of modernization. Unless we are resolved to carry out reform, we will not be able to effectively implement the party's line, principles and policies even if they are correct. Even if we have mapped out excellent plans, we will not be able to carry them out smoothly. Comrade Deng



Xiaoping once emphatically pointed out that in a certain sense, organizational reform is revolution. Whether or not this revolution is carried out will not only determine the future of modernization but will affect the destiny of the party and state. In the course of study, we must fully understand the far-reaching significance of organizational reform on the basis of integrating theory with practice and get rid of ideological obstacles in this regard.

An important part of organizational reform is to correctly solve the question of the division of labor between party and government. This question has not been properly resolved in all these years. In many localities, particularly enterprises, the party organizations often fail to separate party work from government work; instead they take everything into their own hands. They have the habit of monopolizing administrative affairs. In so doing, they do not have the time or energy for major issues which must be grasped, and thus weaken party leadership. On the other hand, because the party has taken over the functioning of the government and the government that of the enterprises, many administrative organs and production organizations cannot play their respective roles fully or independently. The normal progress of work is thus affected. Party work must be separated from government work and the party should concern itself only with party affairs. This will not only strengthen and improve party leadership but is an important guarantee for giving full play to the leadership role of administrative organs at all levels. In the course of study, we must find out what are the leadership responsibilities of the party, why it is necessary to separate party work from government work and how we should go about it. Party workers must pay attention to overcoming the erroneous idea that there will be nothing for them to do if they do not handle concrete administrative work. Comrades working in administrative departments and establishments must pay attention to guarding against the erroneous tendencies of breaking away from party leadership and refusing to carry out the party's principles and policies.

Next to the reform of the leading bodies, another important task which urgently requires tackling is to reform the cadre system and ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. This is a cardinal principle for the party's work concerning cadres in the new period. At present, "aging" is quite a serious problem in the leading bodies at various levels. Many cadres do not possess the necessary cultural, scientific and technical knowledge. This is in sharp contradiction to the requirements of socialist modernization. In view of this situation, the party Central Committee set forth the timely demand that we gradually lower the average age of the ranks of the cadres and ensure that they become better educated and more professionally competent with the prerequisite of becoming more revolutionary. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to reform that part of the cadre system which does not suit these needs. The so-called reform of the cadre system includes the abolition of the de facto life tenure for leadership posts, the introduction of a system requiring veteran cadres to retire or withdraw to the second line, the institution and perfection of systems of job responsibility for different



levels and types of cadres, together with corresponding systems governing the training of cadres in rotation, their assessment, promotion and demotion, reward and punishment and so on, as well as efforts to further improve systems governing the democratic election and appointment and dismissal of cadres. By carrying out these reforms in earnest, we will be able to promote large numbers of energetic young and middle-aged cadres, who possess both political integrity and ability, to various leading posts in good time, and provide an institutional guarantee for the succession of the new to the old. We must fully understand the importance and pressing nature of the "four reforms" in the ranks of the cadres and further eliminate erroneous ideas such as that cadres can only move up but never step down, "taking seniority as the only qualification" and discriminating against intellectuals, which have developed over the years. In his address to the 12th party congress, Comrade Chen Yun put forth an important principle for resolving the question of the succession of cadres. We must earnestly study his speech and grasp its essence. The Central Committee stipulated that in the future all cadres must take part in training in rotation. This is an important strategic measure for raising the quality of cadres. Every comrade must fully understand the far-reaching significance of this measure, guard against the unhealthy tendencies of slighting knowledge and resigning ourselves to be mere laymen and actively take part in study.

/In studying the third task, we must understand why it is necessary to establish close ties between the party and the masses in the new historical period. We must also understand the importance of strengthening the party's work among the workers, peasants and intellectuals./

Wholeheartedly serving the people, proceeding from the best interests of the broad masses of the people in everything, firmly trusting and relying on the masses and maintaining close ties with them are the fine traditions developed in our party in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. They are important guarantees for defeating mighty enemies and overcoming difficulties to win victories. Under new historical conditions, it is of particular significance to preserve and carry forward these fine traditions. Our party's position as a political party in power determines that its activities vitally affect the interests of the masses. Only by maintaining close ties with the masses and pooling their opinions, experience and wisdom can we formulate correct principles and policies and translate these principles and policies into mass action. Estrangement from the masses can cause far greater damage now than before we came into power. Owing to the series of errors made by our party in its guidance work, particularly the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party's ties with the masses have been weakened. Some cadres forgot all about the fine tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses and set themselves above the masses. Some even made use of their authority to encroach on the interests of the masses and do damage to the party's cause. For this reason, we must conscientiously learn from the experience and lessons of history and effectively strengthen the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the masses in every respect. This is a question of fundamental importance in strengthening party building under new historical conditions.

Our party has always attached great importance to work among the workers, peasants and intellectuals and among the young people and women, and has accumulated rich experience in mass work. However, owing to the decade of domestic turmoil and changes in historical conditions, the party's mass work has been somewhat weakened. This is not compatible with the historical mission shouldered by the party in leading the cause of socialist modernization, and it urgently needs strengthening. The report analyzed the actual state and new characteristics of various sections of the masses. In the light of existing problems, it set forth the task and requirements of strengthening links between the party and the workers, peasants and intellectuals. It also set forth the principle of work and direction of endeavor for trade unions, the CYL, and women's federations. All comrades, particularly those directly engaged in mass work, should make an earnest effort to understand the report, sum up experience and unify their thinking in line with the spirit of the report.

/In studying the fourth task, we must correctly understand the present condition of the party and have firm faith that there will be fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party. We must also understand the significance of party consolidation and also the principle and measures involved, and actively make ideological preparation./

As the core leading the cause of socialist modernization, our party shoulders a heavy historical responsibility. Practice since the third plenary session has shown and will continue to show that our party will definitely be able to better build itself up and lead the people of the whole country in creating a new situation of socialist modernization. In view of the grave problems now existing in party style, some comrades do not have much confidence that our party can better build itself up and effect a fundamental turn for the better in its style in the next 5 years. The main reason for this kind of passive thinking is that they have not seriously analyzed the state of our party. Our party is a party which has been nurtured over the years by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a party which has gone through the tempering of protracted revolutionary struggles and has been reared in glorious revolutionary traditions. Our party has rallied to its ranks outstanding elements of the Chinese working classes and the Chinese people and has brought up countless heroes who fought hard and laid down their lives for the communist cause. The masses of fine Communist Party members are wholeheartedly serving the people and playing an exemplary role in production and other work. Thus, despite the serious damage inflicted by the "Great Cultural Revolution," the main body of our party remains politically pure, healthy and strong on the whole. On the other hand, it is true that impurities in ideology, style and organization still exist within the party. The dark aspects cited in the report do exist. If we do not resolutely wage a struggle against these dark aspects and let them develop unchecked instead, our party will be in danger of degeneration and we will not be able to win a victory in the cause of socialist modernization. It is precisely with this in mind that the party Central Committee has time and again emphasized that the style of a political party in power determines its very survival. From this high level of political understanding, it has led the whole party to wage an unremitting struggle against

unhealthy tendencies. The staunch determination of the party Central Committee in resolving the question of party style can be seen in the formulation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," the struggle waged under its leadership to strike at grave crimes in the economic and other spheres and the decision made by the 12th party congress to carry out all-round consolidation of party organizations and rectification of party style. The majority of party members also urge that further efforts be made to straighten out the style of the party and remove the dirt from the body of our party. The determination of the party Central Committee and the vast numbers of party members constitutes an irresistible force and a fundamental guarantee for the success of party consolidation and rectification. Facts show that the style of the party has improved compared with the past few years and will continue to improve. It is groundless to doubt that we can effect a fundamental change for the better in the style of the party. It is also completely wrong to take a passive and pessimistic attitude toward the dark aspects of the party.

The 12th party congress decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years beginning from the latter half of 1982. This is an important measure for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party and a fundamental guarantee for the persistence of the socialist road. Everyone knows that the consolidation of party organizations and rectification of party style is the successful experience gained by our party in strengthening itself. The Yanan rectification movement of 1942 enabled the whole party to achieve unprecedented unity and solidarity ideologically, politically and organizationally and laid the foundations for winning the new democratic revolution. Now we are going to carry out another party consolidation and rectification under new historical conditions. It will be no less significant than that of the Yanan rectification movement. Of course things are different now. The forthcoming party consolidation and rectification is aimed mainly at resolving the question of whether party members are qualified or not. It is true that some of our party members do not meet the requirements and cannot set an example for the masses. Some party members simply do not have communist ideals; some take advantage of their position to encroach on the interests of the masses, the collective and the state; some even take bribes, pervert justice and become overlords who ride roughshod over the masses. Through consolidating the party organizations and by adhering strictly to the new party constitution, we should expel from the party those who still fail to meet the requirements for membership after education, or ask them to withdraw from it. At the same time, party organizations at all levels and all party members should be told to strictly carry out the provisions of the new party constitution. In this way, there will be a marked change in the image of party members and cadres among the masses, the party will take on a new look in the eyes of the people of various nationalities throughout the country and the party's fighting capacity and leadership role will be greatly strengthened.

The consolidation of party organizations is a matter of primary importance in party building at present. It must be carried out step by step and in a

planned way in accordance with the principle laid down by the Central Committee. In matters of organization and leadership, the consolidation will start with the leading organs and cadres and then proceed, from top to bottom, to consolidate the leading bodies at different levels and effect an improvement in the work of party organizations and the method of leadership at all levels. In the course of consolidating party organizations, it is necessary to follow the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades" in unfolding criticism and self-criticism. In the final stage, there will be a reregistration of all party members. Although the all-round consolidation of party organizations will not start until the latter half of next year, there are problems which ought to be tackled now, such as the consolidation of leading bodies and the combating of serious crimes in the economic field. We must attend to these problems in earnest and must not leave everything until the all-round consolidation of party organizations begins. At present, we must conscientiously study the report of the 12th party congress and the new party constitution in conjunction with the study of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and make ideological preparation for the consolidation of party organizations and the rectification of party style.

/In studying the summing-up of the report, we must lay stress on understanding the following: 1) The various fighting tasks confronting the party and the fact that we are bound to win; 2) the correct handling of difficulties; and 3) the need to forever uphold the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the actual conditions in our country./

The general task set by the 12th party congress for our party in the new historical period is to unite the people of all our nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and building our country into a socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy. In accordance with the requirements of the general task and proceeding from present conditions, we must concentrate on grasping four tasks in the period to come. First, we must systematically complete organizational reform and the reform of economic systems. Second, we must go all out in building socialist spiritual civilization. Third, we must hit hard at the serious criminal activities undermining our socialist economy and socialist system. Fourth, we must rectify the party style and consolidate the party organizations. In the coming 5 years, we must effect a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation, in the standards of social conduct and in party style. In addition to the above-mentioned tasks, our party faces yet another historic task, that of working hard to achieve the sacred task of reunifying our motherland. At the same time, we must continue in our struggle to oppose imperialism and hegemonism and safeguard world peace. These are the lofty tasks of creating a new situation in all fields that lie before us. All these tasks reflect the common interests and demands of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. They accord with the desires of the people and the tide of

history. Provided that we act according to the principles laid down by the 12th party congress, we will definitely be able to accomplish the above-mentioned fighting tasks. Our future is that our modernization and reunification will definitely succeed.

Fulfillment of the fighting tasks set by the party is by no means easy and will not be plain sailing. We are bound to encounter all kinds of difficulties. The attitude we take toward difficulties has an important bearing on whether or not we can accomplish the party's tasks. If we overlook the difficulties, overestimate our subjective will and power and act blindly and rashly, we are bound to run up against a brick wall. If we see nothing but difficulties, lose faith in the strength of the party and the masses and waver and procrastinate, we will accomplish nothing. The correct attitude should be to go among the masses and dig into actual work, forge ahead in the struggle with added vigor and fight indomitably and indefatigably. In the course of study, we must take a correct attitude toward work tasks and difficulties and ponder over the question of how to better accomplish the tasks given us by the party in the light of our actual thinking and work.

We must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with China's actual conditions, follow our own road and build socialism with distinctly Chinese features. This is a basic conclusion drawn by our party after summing up historical experience over the years. In order to achieve this integration, we must promptly and correctly unfold the struggle between the two lines, oppose "left" and right tendencies wherever they appear and guard against and overcome all erroneous tendencies which deviate from the correct path. We must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and use the overall view of materialist dialectics to overcome the one-sided metaphysical approach of jumping from one extreme to another and shifting from one tendency to another. If comrades of the whole party can persevere in learning from the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism, persist in going deep into the realities of life to conduct investigation and study and correctly implement the line, principles and policies of the party, the fighting tasks set by our party will definitely be fulfilled.

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HOW CAN WE SAY THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO QUADRUPLE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION VALUE BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 46-47

[Article by Zhao Qi [0340 0366]]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Haobang said that the target for which our economic construction should struggle from 1981 until the end of the century is to quadruple industrial and agricultural production value on the premise of constantly improving economic efficiency. Such a glorious target will encourage the people and is perfectly feasible. Some comrades feel that such a target is similar to those of 1958 and 1978--totally divorced from reality--and they are doubtful of being able to realize it. How then should we look at this question?

1. We should look at it in terms of historical conditions. In 1958 and 1978 economic construction was not in fact taken as the nucleus of the party's work, nor were the relations between politics and economics correctly handled and positioned. At that time appreciation and understanding of the rules of socialist construction was not very great, while economic construction quotas manifested a good deal of subjective arbitrariness. The situation today is completely different. After the third plenary session of the party the focal point of the party's work was transferred to socialist modernized construction. With a guiding ideology we completed the restoration of order out of chaos, corrected the longstanding "leftist" mistakes that had been hindering economic development and, on the basis of summing up all our positive and negative experiences, we created a correct party line with correct policies and direction. The party's appreciation and understanding of the rules of socialist construction increased greatly in comparison to before, while all-round experience grew as well and consciousness and support of the implementation of correct party policies and plans also improved enormously. Economic construction was carried out under the collective guidance and leadership of the party Central Committee while major policies and tactical targets which embodied the collective wisdom of the entire party were thoroughly examined and investigated before release.

2. We should look in terms of the content of the targets. The quadrupling mentioned in the 12th national congress is a target with overall balance



unlike those previous ones which displayed ignorance of the rules of proportional development and the need for overall balance. Quadrupling takes the raising of economic efficiency as its premise and not only demands that both efficiency and speed unite together but, at the same time, it ensures further state construction and improvements in people's living standards. Such a target is comparably better than past ones which one-sidedly strove for quantity and production value, ignoring the targets of quality, efficiency and benefit.

3. We should look at the question in terms of the possibility of realizing the target. In the past, high targets were unrealizable because they were so divorced from reality. The quadrupling laid out in the 12th national congress is based on objective studies. During the years from 1953 to 1981, despite the 10 years of social disorder and destruction and mistaken guidance in economic work, there was still an annual average rise in industrial and agricultural production value of 8.1 percent. To reach quadrupling, we only need a continued average annual increase of 7.2 percent. Why is it that what we were able to do in the past is not possible today? Of course, we should remember that the base figures we start with today are much higher than those in 1953 and the absolute figures included in every 1 percent increase today are much more, thus making things that much more difficult. Nevertheless, we should remember that present favorable conditions are much more numerous than in the past. In addition to the favorable conditions of politics and ideology mentioned above, the 30 years of socialist construction that we have experienced have provided us with a very good foundation of material technology and we have already established an independent and relatively complete industrial system and system of national economy. In 1980, industrial production value represented 69.9 percent of total industrial and agricultural production value as compared with 43.1 percent in 1952. The number of industrial enterprises expanded to a figure of 370,000 with a wide range of differing fields, and as the overall arrangement of industry grew constantly better, some important industrial products leapt into a world ranking position. Conditions in agricultural production also saw definite improvements. We gained a batch of management personnel and technicians who have made remarkable achievements, in the areas of science and technology. In 1981 all of China's work units working under the system of ownership by the people possessed a total of 5,714,000 natural scientists and technologists, an increase of over 12 times the figure for 1952. Such are the favorable conditions we have for achieving a quadrupling of production value in industry and agriculture by 2000.

It should be remembered that the development potential of China's national economy is still enormous and some present important targets which reflect economic benefits are not only lower than those of economically developed countries but they are also lower than some of the best economic levels reached in China in the past. If we inspire enthusiasm in every area and trust in governmental policies and the fact that technological improvements and advances will be able to unearth the enormous potential in enterprises, then we will be able to greatly increase economic benefits and speed up construction with little or no increases in equipment, raw materials, energy or manpower.



Some comrades pointed out that in 1981, industrial and agricultural production value only grew 4.5 percent over the previous year and that other figures in recent years are not much higher. Therefore, these comrades question whether quadrupling is actually a feasible target to set ourselves. We should not take an isolated and static point of view to examine this question. Over a 20-year period, the annual average increase stands at 7.2 percent, but this does not imply that we want to reach this figure immediately. We are saying that is to be seen as an average. During these 20 years, the first 10 displayed an annual average increase of less than 7 percent, while the final 10 years had increases of more than 8 percent. In this way, we will be able to achieve quadrupling by the end of this century.

Speed of development during the first 10 years will not be very great, and the reason is that the backward situation concerning energy and communications, which are restricting the development of China's economy, needs a long period of time before it may see any improvement. Because of a lack of funds and scientific personnel, original key technology projects and improvements in enterprise technology have so far only been carried out in only the most important areas and schemes have not expanded into wider spheres. The development of science and technology, training of technical personnel, etc., also all involve specific processes. Over a long period in the past, imbalances in the national economy and irrationalities in product structure, enterprise organizational structure and the economic management system that existed all required the expenditure of a great deal of time and energy for readjustment and restructuring. The 12th CPC National Congress suggested tactical deployment split into two main parts and drew up a series of measures and important principles designed to solve problems which will arise during the first 10 years.

After the first 10 years of readjustment the national economy will have sorted out the relations between all feasible areas and the delayed after-effect will be enormous, resulting in the last 10 years' development speed far surpassing that of the 1980's. This is because:

1. In the second 10-year period readjustments to the economic structure, including interenterprise and internal enterprise readjustments, will have been to a large extent completed. The economic management system will also have reached an essential rationale and enterprise management and administration will by that time be on the right track, meaning that socialist spiritual civilization will be able to achieve even greater results and the enthusiasm of every region, every enterprise and all the workers will have been activated to even greater extents. As a result of these factors, today's enterprise will greatly increase production power and raise quantity and quality at the same time it moves toward raising economic benefits and efficiency to these future levels.

2. There will be large-scale increases in energy in the last 10-year period. As technology progresses and develops there will be huge decreases in energy consumption. At present, China's use of energy is not very efficient but the potential for economizing is enormous. Annual consumption of

standard coal in China is about the same as in Japan, but our production value as a result of such consumption is about one-fourth that of Japan. Of course there are some factors which make the situation not so easily comparable, for example the make-up of energy supplies differs, so does the make-up of our products. But according to projected statistics, if by the end of this century the production technology of the most important sectors of China's industries is able to reach the level of present-day economically developed countries, then product-producing enterprises and work units will be able to cut their consumption to half of the present amounts, and for every 1 percent increase in production value there will be only an 0.5 percent increase in energy consumption. This is of extreme significance to the elevation of industrial production value.

3. As science and technology develop, the accuracy and precision of workmanship of products will increase as well, thus products will rise in quality and increase in variety, and all this will in turn increase the value of the products. The present utilization ratio of China's crude oil is very low and it should be remembered that economically advanced countries, by processing crude oil into petroleum product, are able to increase prices 10 times and an additional 10 times when further processing produces end products with petroleum bases. In other words petroleum-based end products have a value 100 times that of crude oil. Obviously our potential in this area is enormous. The same quantity of raw material at that time will be able to produce twice as much as, or several times as much as or even several times 10 as much production value as now. Thus quadrupling does not by any means demand quadrupling of all products in terms of quantity. Some products, such as oil, need only be doubled in production value while the end products processed from the oil will produce production values far in excess of any quadrupling.

4. Some newly established areas of industry such as electronics, nuclear energy, oil refining, etc., will all see much faster development during the second 10 years, and this will bring about large-scale increases in quantity as well as production value increases.

The few topics discussed above are all intimately linked with the development of technology. It would be impossible to bring about this quadrupling by using old equipment, old technology, old raw materials and old products. What is of utmost importance is our reliance on the development of science and technology. Today, China's industrial production technology is similar to that of economically advanced countries during the end of the 1950's and early 1960's. Today's science and technology in these economically advanced countries have made their most significant advances only in the last 20 years or so. So starting from now we must use the next 20 years to overtake levels that economically developed countries achieved in the last 20 years in certain areas. Not only is this possible but it is something we should achieve, and to look at the situation in this way provides us with the means to achieve the quadrupling of the industrial and agricultural production value.

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WHY IS IT THAT PEASANT INCOMES SHOULD NO LONGER BE INCREASED MAINLY BY  
RAISING THE PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 pp 47-48

[Article by Xu Ke [6079 2688]]

[Text] With the exception of low production areas and regions that have suffered natural disasters, the last few years have seen general increases in peasants' incomes with obvious improvements in standards of living. The reasons for the relatively fast increases in peasants' incomes, apart from increases in production, are mainly because since 1979 the state has been increasing the selling prices of grain and other agricultural products on a fairly large scale. During the 28-year period from 1950 to 1978 the price of agricultural products rose by 117.4 percent, an average annual increase of 2.8 percent. In the 3 years from 1979 to 1981 prices of agricultural products rose by 38.5 percent, showing an average annual increase of 11.5 percent. In 1981, sales of agricultural products far surpassed income for 1978, reaching 19,800 million yuan, mainly because of increases in brand prices and an extension to the spheres of negotiated prices and the limits of surplus prices. Thus the 1981 income averaged out to 34 yuan for every peasant. All this was very beneficial to promoting the development of agriculture, improving the standards of living of the peasants and activating the peasants' enthusiasm. From a long-term point of view, it is still possible to carry out readjustments in the price parities between industrial and agricultural products but in the future lengthy period of peasant income increases we can no longer rely only on raising the prices of agricultural products, nor can we rely on decreases in requisition by purchase or increases in the scale of negotiated prices. Why is this?

We know that no matter whether we raise the prices of agricultural products to the limits of negotiated prices, at the same time that state purchases of agricultural products rise, expenditure will also necessarily increase. In other words, whereas before the state relied on agricultural commodity exchange to ensure stable prices, from which the peasants received a portion of their income, now it relies on raising prices and this increase again is returned to the peasant. At present China is in the process of carrying out readjustments and therefore needs concentrated funds for essential construction work. Most of these funds come from taxes and the profits of state-run enterprises handed over to the state. However, it is

also necessary that the peasants furbish a portion of this accumulation. If there is no relatively large-scale increase in the labor production rate within an industry and we continue to raise the prices of agricultural products and enlarge the limits of negotiated prices and drop the amount of requisition by purchase, then the concentrated funds from the peasants will be reduced by the state, thereby affecting modernized construction. This is not in keeping with the essential benefits of the people of the entire country, including the peasants.

In terms of the present state of the country's finances we cannot permit continued price increases of agricultural products. Our country's economy is at present in the middle of readjustment and annual increases in national income are not large. In terms of the financial management system, expansion of regional and enterprise financial autocracy has meant less profits received by the state from enterprises in the last few years. This has resulted in continued decreases in national revenue. Furthermore, government expenditure has shot up in some areas. As far as government subsidies on essential items and some agricultural products are concerned, the 1978 figures stood at 7,800 million yuan, while after some prices of agricultural products had been raised in 1979, the figure in 1981 reached 32,000 million yuan, representing 30 percent of the year's financial revenue. If the selling price of agricultural by-products remains stable but the purchasing prices of agricultural products continue to rise then state finances used to subsidize these prices will also continue to rise and with no large-scale increases in state revenue, the state financial department will find it extremely hard going.

The extremely fast increases in consumer funds do not suggest that increases in agricultural products purchasing prices are a good idea either. In recent years, the incomes of the people both in cities and in the countryside have improved considerably while standards of living have also improved to varying degrees. Nevertheless, we must appreciate that these improvements in the standards of living in urban areas and the countryside have taken place despite the lack of large-scale increases in state revenues. During the Cultural Revolution our handling of the relations between economic construction and the people's livelihood was not good, with accumulation rates reaching levels which were too high, thereby putting pressure on consumption by the people. In order to change this situation the state has been lowering the accumulation rate over the last few years and using nearly all of the new increases in state revenue to improve the standards of living of the people. Such actions as these are only feasible on a short-term and limited time scale. Accumulation is the very source and wellspring of extended reproduction and without accumulation it would be difficult for production to develop, and thus the standards of living of the people, both in urban areas and in the countryside, would not improve. In order to achieve "food" and "construction" we can no longer rely on reducing accumulation funds. As from today standards of living will continue to improve but increases in workers' average wages should be kept on a par with rises in labor production rates. Increase in peasants' incomes should for the most part depend on the development of production, the lowering of production costs and improvements in labor production rates.

HOW SHOULD WE UNDERSTAND THE NOTION THAT THE SOCIALIST CHARACTER OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION IS DECIDED BY IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 p 48

[Article by Wu Hong [0702 4540]]

[Text] The establishment of socialist spiritual civilization includes the establishment of both culture and ideology. The establishment of culture provides the foundations of culture and knowledge necessary for ideological construction. In a socialist system, raising the levels of development of education, science, culture, etc. benefits greatly the elevation of ideological consciousness and socialist morality and plays an important role in helping to study and grasp the theories of Marxism, as well as the reception of communist education. However, the socialist character of spiritual civilization is by no means decided by the scale and level of development of cultural construction, but is instead decided by ideological construction.

The contents of ideological construction guide the developmental direction and developmental extent of society's political ideology and moral thinking. The ideological construction mentioned in the move toward the establishment of socialist spiritual civilization during the 12th CPC National Congress includes six main areas and all in all the most important are revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline. Here, then, the teaching of communist ideology becomes the nucleus for ideological construction and cultural construction must develop under the direction of communist ideology. This is an innate characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization and it is the essential trait that separates socialist spiritual civilization from other kinds of social spiritual civilization. Socialism is the first stage to communism and not only should the productive forces have reached a fairly well-developed level but the people should also have fairly high ideological consciousness and morality. The limitless development of the people's consciousness is one of the most important things that separates socialism from capitalism. Although material production in highly developed capitalist countries is well developed, at the same time one still finds widespread decadence, corruption and degeneracy within social and spiritual life in such countries. In China, the most important part of ideological construction is to teach people to establish communist ideals and morals and mold these into their world views. In addition, it is important to

teach people to make the realization of socialist modernization their own personal task and to encourage them not to fear hardship, nor death, to think of people in general and not of themselves and to stress selflessness as well as a total spiritual and physical commitment to serving the people and thereby strengthening organization and discipline. Communist ideology as the nucleus of ideological construction plays an important role in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and also decides the socialist character of the spiritual civilization.

Socialist ideological construction corresponds exactly to the socialist systems of economy and politics. The socialist society has eradicated exploiters and cases of suppression by making the public ownership of the means of production the replacement of private ownership and taking this as the economic foundation of socialist ideological construction. Upon this foundation, the common ideals and aims of the workers are formed, as well as the common moral principles and standards of behavior. Furthermore, from this basis the mutual unification, assistance and love between people, which represent new social relations, establish and develop themselves. An economic system with socialist public ownership requires that the workers display collective ideology and establish an attitude of being masters of their world. Furthermore, the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship provides important conditions for the development of socialist ideological construction, the strengthening of communist education and the eradication of the influences of bourgeois thinking. In a capitalist system of exploitation the relations between people are undisguised relations of gain and loss, cold-hearted relations of "monetary exchange." Corresponding to this, the system of bourgeois ideology advocates such selfish concepts as "everyone for himself." Such attitudes not only point to exploitation, but also to suppression and cheating. Because socialism and capitalism are not the same, the developmental directions and the nature of their social political ideology and ideals and morals are not the same either and thus the spiritual appearance of the people differs too. This fully illustrates that the socialist character of a spiritual civilization is decided by the socialist system and its corresponding ideological construction.

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A DISCUSSION ON 'RULE BY INACTION'--THOUGHTS ON READING LAO ZI, NOT A STUDY  
OF HIS PHILOSOPHIC THEORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 82 inside back cover

[Article by Li Ming [2621 2494]]

[Text] Lu Xun termed Lao Zi's principle of "do nothing and nothing will be left undone" as the "inflated words of a disciple" and "high-sounding but impractical." He ridiculed Lao Zi as one "whose heart reached to the skies but whose life was as thin as paper," really hitting the nail on the head.

The intention of this early philosopher was to abolish "government action." Lao Zi's political view of "inaction" had considerable influence on certain people, an influence reflected in society to this day. Of course, today things are much more complicated than they were in ancient times and cannot be treated in the same way. But comparing the past with the present, it would not be wrong to say that there still exist the "inflated words of a disciple." On the surface, governing by "inaction" would seem to imply a situation in which nothing is forbidden. But in fact it does not mean that nothing be controlled or that we can do whatever we like. This has been proven in the passage in the 5,000 characters which defines a "small country with few people" in which "sages and wisdom have been abandoned." "If you practice inaction, nothing will not be governed." This phrase appears to advocate "inaction" but in fact contemplates "action." Can we not say that this view is a Lao Zi-type advocacy of "action"? It is often the case in the world that if one person doesn't do something, someone else will. Otherwise, what is the purpose of taking so much trouble to write so many words? Absolute "inaction" means keeping quiet and not saying a single word.

It is not wrong to let things take their own course; arbitrary "action" doesn't easily produce success. But it is not a good idea to think like Zhong Gongbao and suggest such a policy for "governing a country." Since we may choke while eating, slip when walking, should we simply sit down without moving, and not eat or walk so as not to choke or slip? If all this was really put into practice, I'm afraid it would not only fail to bring an end to war but would also cause people a lot of trouble. The idea of confining people in their own small universe where each enjoys "himself" and everyone lives a free and happy life is only an illusion, because such



a view denies the freedom of a whole society to make progress. Would people be willing to work in such a situation? Wouldn't they rise in rebellion?

"Those who understand me are few; those who follow me are precious." Luckily, this old philosopher knew himself, and did not insist on popularizing this view. It was proper for him to go west to Hangu and "finally tread the shifting sands." Sima Qian said that he lived for 160 years, or perhaps more than 200 years. The philosopher also said that the little chief responsible for guarding the Hangu Pass worshipped his philosophy and consequently went along with the old man. Whether true or not, this saying survives.

Historical facts prove that those in the position of governing a country who really understood public feeling were always those who were intelligent and paid attention to reality. For example, in the early days of the famous Han dynasty, when "the monarch and his subjects only wanted to rest and do nothing"; though they "respected knowledge," their thinking was not stagnant. What they "respected" was its spirit. How could it be said that these ministers arbitrarily followed political blueprints, that everyone from the top to the grassroots levels was "resting" and sleeping and practiced "inaction" to the extent that they had not a single active plan for governing the country? There were a number of useful measures conforming to natural conditions, such as "encouraging agriculture," "abolishing exorbitant taxes and levies" and selecting and promoting talents. It was said that "Cao Shen followed the rules and regulations defined by Xiao He." Liu Bang defined 3-part laws after he entered Shanhaiguan. Later, Xiao He studied the laws defined by the Qin dynasty and worked out "9-part laws" to replace the "3-part laws"; it was not easy to define the later laws because they covered much wider aspects. Without laws and rules and regulations, it would not be possible for Xiao He to remain prime minister, nor would it have been possible for Cao Shen, should he want, to become an "idle" and "mediocre minister."

It is a natural historical development to positively "act" according to nature. To do nothing and let things take their own course and become "disciples who talk empty words" may be all right; but in this situation, it will be difficult to "govern a country in peace." Is it really accidental that the globe did not turn around according to the desires of those who advocated ruling the country by "inaction"? Otherwise, would it not be difficult for later generations to write books of theories, summing up the development of the civilization of China over the past 2,000 years and more? Historians and historians of philosophy have criticized the political view of "inaction" as "contrary to history" and "contrary to development" and held that this ideology is far more reactionary than the restorationism of Confucianism, and all the criticisms are basically in agreement.

From a historical point of view, Lao Zi's political ideology of "inaction" was aimed at seeking a way out for the society of his time; it had its own reasons and historical conditions for its emergence. We can in no way put demands on the people of ancient times with today's knowledge and

arbitrarily regard them as ignorant and presumptuous; if we do so, we will find it hard to avoid becoming nihilistic. After all, Lao Zi was a wise and great ideologist of ancient times. He acknowledged the contradictions in society at that time and tried to solve them. His valuable philosophical theory represents the ideological level of an era and it has been explained by a great number of people of ancient and present times who have spared no efforts to explain and study the books written by Lao Zi. It is natural to inherit this fine cultural heritage with a critical attitude. But we cannot mechanically compare the past with the present. If we take Lao Zi's view of "inaction" as a yardstick to measure our present era, we will no doubt go against history.

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END